

The Nation

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1884.

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The Nation.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1884.

The Week.

A GOOD many Republicans are trying to fortify themselves in their support of Blaine by not reading the Mulligan letters; but no voter can honestly, and with a proper sense of his duty to his country, neglect any published information as to a candidate's character which is shown to be sufficiently weighty to have affected the judgment of a large number of intelligent and honorable men. No one ought to vote next November without having examined the charges against Blaine in the light of the evidence against him; and this evidence, it must be remembered, is not letters written about Blaine, or written to him, but his own letters. This makes the charges against him more serious and solid than any ever before made against a Presidential candidate. No charge against such a candidate has ever before been based on his own correspondence and accounts. It is therefore every voter's duty to examine it, carefully comparing the letters with each other, and with Blaine's statements in Congress.

We should like to have seen the faces of Messrs. Hoar, Hawley, and Dawes when the "coyote cry of Mulligan, Mulligan," reached them on Monday. What are they going to do about it? Will they go on explaining that everything is all right, that personally they are convinced of Mr. Blaine's honesty, and that if he gave an ugly-looking reason for a doubtful public act it was simply because he really had a perfectly honest reason in reserve? What has Mr. Hawley to say about these new revelations of the way in which his candidate has "connected his private business with his public business"? Does he still regard it all as a "hasty thing," and is he any more sorry than he was that Mr. Blaine allowed himself to do it? Probably all three of these defenders will go on defending still. They will claim that these letters are merely a fresh instalment of the same old slander, and are of no worse character. In that they will be entirely right. Any man who could accept the first letters as innocent, ought to have no trouble in disposing of these. The tone and character are the same in all. They show that the Republican candidate for the Presidency used the Speaker's chair as a stock-jobbing office for his private gain, that he told falsehoods about his transactions whenever it was necessary to do so to conceal them, and that he was smart enough to make a fortune out of the business. For all persons who like that sort of a candidate Mr. Blaine is just the sort of candidate they have liked from the first, and will continue to like to the end, no matter how many more letters Mulligan and Fisher may have in reserve.

Mr. Hamilton Fish has written to the *World* correcting its statement of Saturday, that he was not going to vote for Blaine, by saying that he "expects" to vote for him in spite of

his "want of concurrence as to the wisdom and policy of some parts of his administration" of the State Department. We presume, however, that after reading the remainder of the Mulligan letters published on Monday, Mr. Fish will see reason to change his intention, in spite of his dislike of "putting the Government of the nation into Democratic hands," particularly as he reiterates the expression of the "great respect for Governor Cleveland which he sincerely entertains, and his approval of the general tone and conduct of his administration of the State Government."

Mr. Blaine's decision to take the stump for himself was announced simultaneously with the publication of the new batch of Mulligan letters. He is now on his way to Ohio and Indiana. It has been hoped by his friends that his visit to Ohio would dispel the apathy which afflicts the Republicans of the Western Reserve. His entry into the State has been planned as dramatically as possible, the intention being to have him go first upon a private visit to Mrs. Garfield, and after that to take the stump in his familiar rôle of Garfield's heir. Can he, in the face of these new letters, appear upon the stump anywhere? In all probability he can. A man who, with his record, had the stupendous audacity to become a candidate for the Presidency, is not likely to shrink from anything. Yet we doubt if his friends will venture to bring him to this city.

There are some very stirring campaign mottoes in the new Mulligan letters which are not likely to be deadheads in the enterprise, as there are various channels in which they may prove useful. The old injunction "to keep my name quiet" is now reinforced with: "I note what you say about the importance of my keeping all quiet here." "No one will ever know from me that I have disposed of a single dollar in Maine." "I have endeavored in writing not to be indelicate." "It will be in my power to 'cast an anchor to the windward' in your behalf." "I will make it all right with you." "I will sacrifice a good deal to get a settlement." "Pray let me know what I am to expect." "Burn this letter."

Tammany has given its consent to support Cleveland in precisely the way that all friends of Cleveland, as the candidate of good government, most heartily desired. The old story of objections to him is told over again in the address, and no man can read it and not feel new respect for the candidate who excited such antipathy in such a quarter. It is very evident that Kelly and his associate leaders have been brought to the support of the party ticket, not by any yielding to their demands for "terms," but by the force of party discipline and pressure. The only alternative was to go out of the party, and they are too shrewd politicians to make that mistake. Their action means simply that they will give an open support to Cleveland, but that if a good opportunity offers to "knife" him without danger of discovery it will be ac-

cepted. The removal of the confirming power from the Aldermen has greatly lessened the opportunities for "deals" with the Republicans, and we apprehend that the sum total of the Tammany defection this fall will be the contingent which Grady is able to lead away to Butler.

Judge West, the blind man eloquent of Ohio, who nominated Blaine in the Chicago Convention, made a defence of the Little Rock bond transaction in Brooklyn on Thursday night, and the *Tribune* suppressed every word of it, as usual. It is altogether the weakest defence which has been made by anybody, and is only explainable on the ground that nobody has read the evidence to the Judge. Nobody seems to have reminded him, either, of the remarkable prediction which he made in his nominating speech, and to which his descendants will point with pride when the history of the present campaign is written. "Who shall be our candidate?" he asked. "Not the representative of a particular interest, of a particular class. Send the great proclamation to the country labelled 'The Wall-Street Candidate,' and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave." He little thought when he said that that the only prominent business men in this city to hail Mr. Blaine's nomination with delight would be Jay Gould, Cyrus W. Field, and Russell Sage.

The accession of Dorsey to the list of supporters of Blaine in the character of an indignant moralist is very droll, but not more so than the accession of the Rev. E. D. Winslow, of Buenos Ayres, to which the Boston *Advertiser* calls attention. Winslow was a Methodist minister of a speculative turn in Boston some seven years ago, who fled after committing extensive forgeries, and made good his escape. He is now editor of a paper called the *Herald*, in Buenos Ayres, and even at that distance feels the influence of Blaine's magnetism, and is disgusted by the "holier-than-thou" air of the Independents, on whom he thus severely comments:

"There is another class of persons in American politics, found in both parties, but chiefly in the Republican party, whose badge is inscribed with the legend, 'I am more holy than thou'—mere political Chadbands, whose sanctimonious professions they count will pass current; men who assume superior virtue because they never stole what they could not reach, who have found it easy to be virtuous in politics, having had no chance to be otherwise. . . . The Massachusetts Independent (?) movement has its origin among these political Pharisees. We know these men thoroughly, individually and politically, and they are inflated frauds."

Whereupon the *Advertiser* intimates that if Winslow will come back to the United States, some of the Independents will make an application of the "holier-than-thou" principle to him personally which will still further illustrate their methods, but will probably also give him a home in the Concord State Prison. One thing which makes the support

of Blaine so attractive to the notorious financial rascals is, that it gives them a chance to affect great alarm about the national chastity, and about "the home," in case Cleveland should be elected. Such another chance of appearing virtuous will probably never offer itself to them, and the season closes for them early in November.

Mr. Henry C. Bowen, in the *Independent* last week, had a leaded article advocating "the great principles of morality," and denying that he had "made a bargain," or would be "bought to support James G. Blaine, or any other man of that sort." So he is going to "support" ex-Governor St. John. He proposes, too, as the best test of what a man really is, "an inspection of his private character." He does not say, however, who the "inspectors" are to be, and who is to inspect the inspectors themselves. Nor does he make any provision for the protection of other people than the candidate—innocent women, for instance—from being included in the inspection which he is to undergo. In fact, the scheme, as at present propounded, seems to us a trifle vague. In James G. Blaine's case the inspectors were saved all trouble by documentary evidence furnished by himself. So, also, when Mr. Bowen was last inspected as a moralist and teacher, the work was facilitated by his written contract with Jay Cooke & Co. to lend his "editorial columns" to help them sell their Northern Pacific bonds, many of which and much stock he received in compensation. In fact, he was no deadhead in the enterprise, and found many channels in which he was useful. We are glad to hear from him that he "will not be bought" this time, but he must feel much sympathy with Blaine.

Mr. H. H. Hadley, the reputed author of the Morey letter, has been on the witness stand for some days testifying in a law-suit involving the question of his compensation for services in procuring testimony to prove that the letter was genuine. Being asked whether he had formed any opinion, as the result of his investigations, whether it was a genuine letter or not, he declined to answer. He seems to be endowed with as fine a sense of humor as the culprit who, being required by the Judge to plead guilty or not guilty to an indictment for pig stealing, said: "How can I tell, your honor, till I have heard the evidence?" Mr. Davenport, in his pamphlet, says that such forgeries as that of the Morey letter are not punishable by law. We suppose he is right, but it is to be hoped that contempt of court is punishable, and that such a solemn mockery as this man Hadley has been making of the forms of civil procedure may meet its due reward, even if the forgery of the Morey letter remains unwhipped of justice.

The review which the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans) gives of the industrial and educational condition of the Southern States from the Potomac and the Ohio to the Rio Grande shows a continuing growth and prosperity in that section. Last September it was shown by that

paper that the assessed wealth of the twelve States embraced within the limits mentioned above had increased since the census year, which was the beginning of a new era in the material improvement of the South, over \$640,000,000—an average annual increase of more than \$160,000,000. If the figures for the past year secured by the *Times-Democrat* can be relied upon, this great prosperity has not been retarded by the financial troubles which have occurred, for they indicate an increase of more than \$205,500,000. The greatest increase has taken place in the States (mentioning them in the order of their relative increase in wealth) of Texas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama, and Virginia. Each of these has gained more than \$20,000,000 in the past year. The reduction of taxes, it is gratifying to relate, has accompanied this increased wealth. In North Carolina all taxation, it is said, has just been suspended, enough money being in the treasury to defray all the expenses of the State. A comparison with the taxes of last year shows a reduction throughout the South of five-twelfths of a mill, and with those of 1870 a reduction of more than seven mills. It is not at the expense of public education, it should be said, that this reduction is made. The *Times-Democrat* maintains that the South is spending to-day twice as much for education as it spent five years ago, and four times as much as it spent in 1870, when the rate of taxation was three times as great as it is now.

All this is a most gratifying confirmation of the views of those, like ourselves, who have steadily maintained that it was material progress which was to eradicate the social and political evils left by slavery. There was a large body of people at the North who maintained for many years after the war that coercion and denunciation and cultivated distrust were the only proper instruments of social regeneration at the South. Coercion they were compelled to give up at an early period, because it threatened free government at the North as well as at the South; but they held on tenaciously to denunciation and distrust. It was not till 1880 that Republican candidates for office at the North were able safely to omit from their speeches and letters strong expressions of hostility to the white people of the South, and of disbelief in their good intentions, and in their desire or ability to make any real progress, either industrial or political. They were to be driven into industry and peaceableness and acceptance of the blessings of American polity apparently through vituperation and exclusion from Federal offices.

The fuss made over the marriage of Mr. Morosini's daughter with his coachman, as a "mésalliance," is discreditable to the press, considering that this is by no means a dull season and topics are plenty. Mr. Morosini was, we believe, a very few years ago, a brakeman on a railroad, out of which position he was taken by Jay Gould to be a sort of body guard, when that financier used to be threatened by divers irate persons with assault and battery. He has since then come into possession of a

good deal of money, and is doubtless living in a way which makes a coachman seem a very inferior person, and it is no doubt afflicting to have one's daughter elope with an inferior person. But there is no such inequality between the parties in origin, or condition, or education as to make the marriage in any way a social phenomenon, or an illustration of anything in the world except the inclination of young men to marry young women, and of young women to let the young men marry them.

The famous English Claimant will be released in a few days, at the expiration of his term of fourteen years' imprisonment, and the cable informs us that so much enthusiasm still lingers among his adherents that they have taken a furnished house in Hampshire for the reception of himself and his two daughters, and provided a handsome allowance for him. His case is probably the most extraordinary, whether of unmerited wrong or outrageous imposture, to be found in judicial annals. He got a considerable number of people who ought to have known him, to believe he was really Sir Roger Tichborne, through mere likeness and by some scanty reminiscences, but there was no formal intellectual test that could be applied to him which did not break him down. If he were a true man it would have been a most remarkable case of mental deterioration. The enthusiasm which he excited among the working classes was, however, the most extraordinary part of the affair. Large numbers of them, who hated all orders of nobility, were devoted to him as a baronet who was kept out of his rights, and nobody has ever been able to persuade them to this day that he was not entitled to leave his calling as a butcher, and live in idleness and luxury as a landowner.

The Marquis of Ripon is coming home from the Governor-Generalship of India a very weary man. He was sent out when the Gladstone Ministry came into power in order to undo as far as might be the follies of Lord Lytton, his predecessor, the picturesque but light-headed poet whom Disraeli put in the place when he was rearranging the Empire on the theatrical plan. Lord Ripon had to contend from the beginning with some unpopularity caused by his sudden conversion to Catholicism at a very mature age—a step which the English people do not readily forgive to an elderly public man. In fact, it made his appointment to the government of India seem to a great many a piece of Gladstone's mischievous and maudlin sentimentality. He had no sooner settled the Afghan troubles than he found himself plunged into a ferocious controversy with the English in India over the Ilbert Bill, a piece of legislation intended to put Englishmen and natives on an equality before the courts, by making the former amenable to native judges. The opposition to it was so fierce that it ended in a compromise and brought out an amount of savagery, not to say ferocity, on the part of the ruling race, which recalled Macaulay's account of the attacks on him, when Legislative Member of

the Council, for similar leanings toward the native side.

Lord Dufferin's appointment to succeed him is a sign that the home Government is deeply impressed with the increasing delicacy of the relations of the two races in India. The condition of the people is not improving, while the education of all classes, especially the upper classes, is increasing greatly, and their discontent becomes more articulate. The native press is already a source of considerable anxiety to the Government, and so are the armies of the dependent native princes. In dealing with all these matters without coming to loggerheads with the resident English population nothing is more necessary than tact, and this Lord Dufferin has in a great degree, to say nothing of the higher qualities of judgment and practical sense.

The French dispute with China is not growing more respectable for the French as the facts become better known. It originated in what the French said was an act of treachery on the part of the Chinese, in resisting the advance of a small French column on its way to occupy Lang-Son, one of the small towns in Tonquin ceded by the treaty of Tien-Tsin. It now appears from General Millot's report, which the French Government has published very tardily and reluctantly, that the Chinese were in the right, and the blame of the affair rested wholly on Colonel Degenne, the officer in command of the column. The Chinese commander when they met distinctly informed him, as the French now acknowledge, that he had no orders to surrender the place. If this had occurred in Europe, Colonel Degenne would have telegraphed for further instructions to his superiors in the rear. Instead of this he instantly attacked the Chinese, and was repulsed after an affair in which many lives were lost on both sides, and the world was told not only that the Chinese had acted treacherously, but that they had actually prepared an ambushade for the French force, and instant preparations were made for war, and an enormous indemnity was demanded, which has since been reduced to one-third of the original amount.

Admiral Courbet's performances subsequently do not seem, from the moral point of view, to have been much more creditable. Knowing full well that he was going to begin hostilities within a few days, the Admiral sent his gunboats into the Min River, above Foo-Choo, which the Chinese—relying on his peaceableness—allowed him to do, and he was thus enabled to take the fortifications on the banks in reverse when he opened fire, and easily silenced them. Under the law of nations, hostilities without war must be reprisals for a distinct and definite wrong for which redress has been refused. General Millot now confesses, however, that no such wrong has been suffered, or rather that the wrong was all on the French side.

The French and Chinese are both still in trouble over the exact state of their relations. Every one can see at a glance that they are not at peace, but they both deny that they are at war. The French deny it because they want to circumscribe the area of hostilities, and wish

to avoid raising questions of neutral rights, and the Chinese because they do not think themselves yet ready for a general fight. The French publicists are consequently arguing laboriously that they are in a "state of reprisal," that is, a state of limited war, having for its object the obtaining of satisfaction on one point of minor importance. They cite as a precedent for the French position a seizure of Neapolitan trading vessels made by the British in 1840, as reprisal for wrong done to some English subjects by the infringement of some concessions previously made to a sulphur mining company; the blockade of the Greek ports by Palmerston in 1850, to avenge the wrongs of Don Pacifico; and the seizure of the island of San Juan by the United States in 1859, pending the settlement of a dispute as to the boundary-line. None of these things were treated as acts of war. One writer goes so far as to maintain that pitched battles may be fought by Powers who are not actually at war. The battle of Navarino, for instance, was fought and the Turkish fleet destroyed in 1827, without putting the victors, France, England, and Russia, in a state of war with Turkey. In 1846, France fought the army of Morocco commanded by Abd-el-Kader at Isly, and bombarded Tangier without going to war with Morocco. In fact, according to this view, there is hardly any amount of damage which may not be done to an enemy without going to war, as long as no formal declaration of war is made.

There is, however, an enormous amount of sophistry about all this. In the first place the object of the reprisals is in the present case undefined. The French have since the bombardment of Foo-Choo acknowledged that they were in the wrong in the Lang-Son affair, and this is the only wrong there is. Moreover, it is not at all likely that war would be carried on against China on a more extensive scale than they are carrying it on now, even if war were formally declared. France is not at all likely to send an invading force into the country, and if it did, it could accomplish but little beyond what the ravages of the fleet along the coasts accomplished, so loosely are the provinces united to the central Government. The interruption to the commerce of neutrals, too, is just as great in a state of reprisals as in a state of war, and their position more uncertain. Nevertheless, talk of arbitration, to which the Chinese seem willing to resort, is sternly repudiated by the French.

The rumor of a formal declaration of war by China against France, which will probably come soon, if it has not come already, has set the French thinking seriously about the consequences of a Chinese resort to privateering. The French are cut off from this resource by the treaty of Paris in 1856, but the Chinese are not, and, ever since the career of the *Alabama*, the maritime Powers have a great dread of what privateers can do. One French newspaper, the *République Française*, Gambetta's old organ, takes the ground that the Treaty of Paris does not bind its signatories in the matter of privateering when at war with a Power which did not adhere to it; but this is certainly new doctrine. The same journal goes so far, moreover, as to proclaim that unless Chinese privateers are com-

manded and manned by Chinamen, they will be treated as pirates, which is preposterous. The commission covers both crew and commander. All Powers have always been held free to employ foreigners both by land and sea in military operations, saving the subjects of the other belligerent, who have to take their chance of being treated as traitors if caught.

The presence of King Humbert at Naples, where he went to stay while the virulence of the cholera lasted, is causing unpleasant comparisons to be made by the Italians between his course and that of the Pope, who remains in one of the most luxurious palaces in the world, thoroughly isolated from all plague and pestilence and scenes of human suffering. The difficulty the Pope has to contend with in going about is, that it exposes him to insults from persons who do not believe in him; and this to good Catholics is something too shocking to be thought of. If he were to start out as a philanthropist, however, Naples would be a good place to begin, for in no other part of Italy are the people so faithful to the Church. One of the great difficulties of the existing situation there is the difficulty of getting the people to resort to any better mode of defence against the plague than religious processions in the streets and offerings at the shrine of saints.

The fastest sea-going war vessel afloat is the new Chilean cruiser *Esmeralda*, which recently obtained the mean speed of *eighteen and one-quarter knots* per hour on a sea trial. The British cruiser *Isis*, hitherto the fastest man-of-war, has a maximum speed of eighteen knots per hour; she is, however, unarmored and comparatively lightly armed. The *Esmeralda* may be described as a casemated monitor with high freeboard and every essential to make her seaworthy for any voyage. She carries 10-inch, 25-ton, breach-loading, very long-range bow and stern guns that sweep through more than 180° of the horizon, protected with steel shields and capable of penetrating twenty inches of iron armor. Besides these she carries on each broadside three six-inch breach-loading rifles, capable of penetrating eleven inches of iron armor. These powerful guns are worked by the most perfect system of labor-saving hydraulic machinery yet devised. The *Esmeralda* carries in addition to the above Hotchkiss's revolving cannon, Gardner and Gatling repeating guns, mounted in every available place, even in her tops (masts), all protected with steel shields. These latter weapons are mainly for defence against torpedo boats. The striking features of the *Esmeralda* are her moderate size and comparatively light armor and small draft of water, her high speed, and her powerful armament. It is an open secret that she was designed with especial reference to the possibility of trouble between the United States and Chili, and to the opportunity offered to raid our defenceless Pacific ports. Compare the *Esmeralda* as she is with the *Chicago* as she is promised. But comparison is impossible. The *Esmeralda* could as easily whip the *Chicago* as the *Merrimac* did the old *Cumberland* in the beginning of our war. By the way, how does the *Chicago* get on?

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, September 10, to TUESDAY, September 16, 1884, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

ASSISTANT-SECRETARY CHARLES E. COON has been designated by the President as Acting Secretary of the Treasury for ten days from Monday, September 15. L. P. Morton, of New York, Minister to France, who is now on his way to this country, is mentioned as likely to be appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

The clerks in the Treasury Department at Washington have received circulars during the past few days from the New York Civil-Service Reform Association, warning them that if they contribute to the campaign funds of either party, in violation of the Civil-Service Act, they will be liable to prosecution under the law.

Four hundred and sixty towns and plantations in Maine give Robie (Rep.) 78,642, Redman (Dem.) 58,452, scattering 3,659. The vote compiled from all but eighteen small towns gives a Republican plurality of 19,709.

The Connecticut Greenbackers have nominated James L. Curtiss for Governor. The Massachusetts Prohibitionists have nominated President Seelye, of Amherst College, for Governor, and Henry H. Faxon, of Quincy, for Lieutenant-Governor. The Convention was one of the most noteworthy ever held by the Prohibitionists of that State.

The Missouri Republicans have made a fusion with the Greenbackers, and nominated Nicholas Ford for Governor. Three places on the ticket out of nine are given to the Greenbackers, namely: Secretary of State, Register of Lands, and Railroad Commissioner.

John M. Hill was nominated for Governor by the New Hampshire Democrats on Wednesday.

Benjamin H. Eaton has been nominated for Governor by the Colorado Republicans.

Henry Cabot Lodge has been renominated for Congress by the Republicans of the Sixth Massachusetts District. Frank Hiscock has been unanimously renominated by the Republicans of the Twenty-fifth New York Congressional District.

Mr. E. J. Ellis has not been renominated for Congress by the Democrats of the Second Louisiana Congressional District because he supported the Morrison Tariff Bill. They have nominated Judge W. T. Houston.

There was a great crowd in Union Square on Monday evening to see and hear General Benjamin F. Butler, who appeared as the candidate of the "People's party" for the Presidency. Three stands had been erected for speakers, and music and fireworks assisted to swell the gathering. General Butler, who was received with cheers, spoke at length on the subject of railroads and canals. Ex-Senator Grady made a speech abusing Governor Cleveland because of the veto of the Five-Cent-Fare Bill and other acts of his administration.

Thomas A. Hendricks, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, made a notable speech at Toledo, Ohio, on Wednesday evening, to a large audience. He was especially severe in criticising Mr. Blaine's attitude on the Irish suspect cases. General Logan made a reply at Toledo on Thursday night.

General Logan made a speech to 5,000 people in Grand Rapids, Mich., on Monday evening.

Senator Bayard addressed an overflowing meeting of Democrats in the Brooklyn Rink on Monday night. He was received with great enthusiasm. He arraigned Mr. Blaine and denounced his public record in severe terms. He praised Governor Cleveland as a man who had always done his whole duty in his public career, and who, he prophesied, would continue to do so. Gov. Leon Abbott, of New Jersey, also spoke.

Carl Schurz is announced for ten speeches in Ohio. Mr. Schurz spoke in Cen-

tral Music Hall, Chicago, on Thursday night, before 2,500 people. The meeting was a very successful opening of the Independent campaign in that city. He addressed a large audience on Monday night at the Park Theatre, Indianapolis. The meeting was entirely under Independent auspices. Before Mr. Schurz began his speech an address in favor of Cleveland was read, signed by thirty Germans, headed by Peter Lieber, formerly a Republican, but who left the party in 1882.

Benjamin H. Bristow, ex-Secretary of the Treasury; Francis H. Walker, ex-Superintendent of the Census; and Edward Eggleston, the novelist, have all come out for Cleveland, and have repudiated Blaine.

A tornado at Clear Lake, Wis., and vicinity, on Wednesday, destroyed property to the amount of \$250,000. Three persons were killed.

The Eau Clair and Chippewa Rivers, in Wisconsin, rose rapidly on Wednesday and Thursday, destroying railway bridges and other valuable property worth more than \$1,000,000.

Burger, Hurlbut & Livingston, sugar refiners and dealers of this city, made an assignment on Thursday; their liabilities are about \$400,000.

The financial troubles of the Bankers' and Merchants' Telegraph Company have resulted in the rupture of the pooling agreement which was entered into last July by representatives of the Baltimore and Ohio, Postal, and Bankers' and Merchants' Telegraph Companies.

It is believed that the surplus in the National Bank of New Jersey, at New Brunswick, will be more than sufficient to cover all deficiencies caused by Cashier Hill's defalcation, and that depositors will be paid in full. The bank will probably soon resume under a new charter.

J. H. Squier, a Washington banker, who made an assignment a few months ago, committed suicide on Thursday morning at his residence in that city by cutting his throat with a penknife. It is said that he had been reading accounts of the New Brunswick suicides, and was temporarily insane.

Five men were killed and eight seriously injured by the explosion of a boiler at a cotton compress in Eufaula, Ala., on Monday afternoon. Four men were killed by the explosion, on the same day, of a boiler in a mill in Tazewell County, Ill.

The golden wedding of the Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, author of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," was celebrated at Newton Centre, Mass., on Tuesday evening.

Robert Hoe, of the firm of R. Hoe & Co., of this city, died at his summer house, in Tarrytown, on the Hudson, on Saturday, in his seventieth year. Mr. Hoe was born in New York city, and was the son of Robert Hoe, an Englishman, who came to the United States in 1803, and founded the house well known as manufacturers of printing presses. When quite a young man the late Robert Hoe, with his brother Richard M., succeeded to the business established by their father, which has become the largest of its kind in the world. He was always a public-spirited, liberal-minded citizen.

William Earl Dodge, son of William E. Dodge, jr., and grandson of the late merchant and philanthropist of the same name, died on Sunday at Riverdale. He was only twenty-six years of age, was a member of his father's firm, and prominent in business, social, and philanthropic circles.

FOREIGN.

One thousand arrests of suspected people were made at Warsaw during the visit of the Czar. Thousands of copies of a Nihilist proclamation were circulated in the city. Before departing from Warsaw for Wilna the Czar and Czarina gave a state dinner at the Lazienki Palace. A hundred guests were present, including only five Polish ladies. These belonged

to the nobility. The Czarina was especially attentive to the Poles.

A Nihilist named Stanislaw was arrested on a railway train as he was going to Cracow, Russia. He attempted to commit suicide after the arrest, and confessed that he had been assigned to kill the Czar during his stay at Warsaw.

The Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria arrived at Skierniewice at 2 o'clock on Monday afternoon, and was received by the Czar and Czarina and their retinue very cordially. After the Austrian Emperor had been formally introduced to the members of the Czar's staff, he inspected the guard of honor, and the party proceeded to the palace. General Shuvaloff met Emperor William of Germany on the frontier, and the latter arrived at Skierniewice at 4 o'clock, where he was met by the Czar and Czarina and their retinue with the same ceremonies with which the Emperor Francis Joseph was greeted and escorted to the palace. A grand banquet was partaken of by the three Emperors in the evening. The three Ministers—M. de Giers for Russia, Prince Bismarck for Germany, and Count Kalnoky for Austria—were also present. The only persons visible from the railway train which bore the Emperors from Warsaw to Skierniewice were soldiers. Nobody was allowed on the platforms at the stations, and the railway officials were ordered to close the windows of their houses. Polish gendarmes guard Skierniewice, and nobody is allowed to remain there without a permit signed by General Gurko. It is reported in Vienna that one subject which will engage the attention of the three Emperors is the advisability of the partial reduction of the great standing armies which are now maintained. The *Journal de St.-Petersbourg*, which speaks with some official authority, says: "The events at Skierniewice are dominating the whole political situation. The meeting of three closely-united sovereigns, accompanied by confidential statesmen, indicates a policy of peace. There is no question now of formal alliances or of special agreements, but this meeting will confirm the understanding already happily existing on all great questions, in order that every question outside the present *status quo* may find the monarchs acting conjointly where their interests coincide, effecting harmony where they differ, employing their solidarity to preserve order, law, and peace, and respecting the rights of all, but keeping a watchful eye on those who disturb the existing order of things—the anarchists who prowl about in the dark and aim to destroy all institutions."

The situation at Naples grew alarmingly worse on Wednesday. In the twenty-four hours ending at 9 o'clock that evening there had been 937 fresh cases of cholera and 365 deaths. On Thursday the epidemic increased hourly in virulence. The misery and suffering among the poor were appalling. King Humbert continued to visit the afflicted. The Catholic papers of Italy unite in eulogizing his bravery. The King gave \$60,000 for the relief of the sufferers. During the twenty-four hours ending Friday evening there were in Naples 809 fresh cases of cholera and 430 deaths. King Humbert announced that he would not leave the city until the epidemic waned. There was a slight increase in the death rate on Monday.

King Humbert arrived in Rome on Sunday from Naples. He was received with great enthusiasm by the people. From midnight of Friday up to 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon there were 1,299 cases and 687 deaths from cholera at Naples. Since the beginning of the outbreak there have been 3,297 deaths. Heavy rains which visited Naples on Sunday and Monday were followed by a notable decrease in the number of new cases. The Pope has given \$6,000 to the cholera relief fund. At Marseilles, France, there are still an average of two deaths daily. At Toulon there were fifteen deaths on Sunday and Monday.

It is believed in Rome that the Pope is about

to issue an important encyclical against liberalism, especially in Italy, sustaining the ecclesiastical thesis that it is the Church alone that has power to grant real and lasting liberty.

The Belgian Senate on Wednesday, by a vote of forty to twenty-five, adopted the new bill on primary education.

The Brussels *Official Gazette* announced on Saturday that the King had signed the Educational Bill. The *Gazette* makes a strong appeal to the Liberals to maintain calmness. There were riotous demonstrations on Sunday at Alost between a number of Brussels peddlers and the inhabitants of Alost.

A rumor has gained currency in Brussels that King Leopold will dissolve the Chambers in order to end the political antagonism now prevalent.

Emperor William, in a letter conferring the Order of Merit upon Prince Bismarck, says: "During two wars you have stood by your Emperor as the most careful adviser in your military capacity. I know your heart and soul are so much those of the soldier that I hope to give you pleasure by conferring upon you this order, which your predecessors held with pride. I give myself the consolation of allowing the man whom God has given me for a support, and who does such great things for the Fatherland, to receive also as a soldier that recognition of his services which he has so well earned."

Official communications have passed between the English Foreign Office and the German Government upon the reported annexation by Germany of the African coast from Angra Pequena to Cape Frio. It is reported that Prince Bismarck, in his reply to the English communications, repudiates the authorization of such annexation.

Mr. John M. Francis, the new American Minister to Austria, presented his credentials on Thursday to Emperor Francis Joseph.

A steamer reached San Francisco on Sunday bringing Hong Kong advices to August 14. Information had reached Canton of a frightful inundation in the province of Kiangsi. The floods lasted four days, and the entire country was submerged to the depth of sixty feet. Whole towns were swept away. It is believed that fully 70,000 persons perished. It was feared that a pestilence would follow. Cholera had broken out at Amoy.

It was reported on Wednesday that the Chinese were blocking the Woosung bar with junks filled with stones; but apparently nothing has been done beyond making preparations to that end.

The Chinese on Thursday took steps to blockade the harbor of Shanghai. The Shanghai Chamber of Commerce telegraphed on Friday to London that the threatened blocking of the river excited strong indignation in that city. The Chamber addressed a communication to the Consuls and Ministers of foreign Powers there resident urging them to prevent such action, and suggesting that Shanghai be made neutral. The Chamber requested the London Committee to do everything possible in support of the suggestion.

A monster mass meeting was held in Shanghai on Tuesday, in which the whole English community took part. The meeting strongly deprecated the prolongation of the present desultory hostilities on the part of France. Their effect was simply ruinous to commerce. The meeting resolved to urge the home Government to make an effort to procure the settlement of the difficulties between France and China by mediation.

The French Government on Thursday denied that China had declared war. The Chambers will not be summoned to meet before October 15.

The Tsung-li Yamen, or Chinese Council of Mandarins, in reply to the French ultimatum of July 12, announces that in accordance with the second article of the Tien-Tsin provisional treaty, China is prepared to withdraw its garrisons from Tonquin after the expiration of a

month, and that China respected the terms of the second article. France, they say, ought to respect the third article. The French demand for indemnity, they claim, is not in accordance with the five articles of that treaty, is in prejudice of their friendly relations, and contrary to international law. The Tsung-li Yamen ask if the Government of France cannot wait until China withdraws her troops from Tonquin, when a complete treaty will be arranged. They also aver that, if the question of indemnity is not considered as being settled by the Tien-Tsin treaty, the demand for indemnity is opposed to the third article. The forcible taking of a guarantee and an indemnity is contrary to the treaty, and compels China to give the treaty Powers a history of the Tonquin question, together with the protest of China, and the latter's Government awaits an opportunity to discuss the question. The Tsung-li Yamen request that M. Patenotre, the French Ambassador, shall come to Tien-Tsin, arrange a definitive treaty, and strengthen the friendly relations between the two nations. This would be the proper mode of procedure according to international law. The address also deplores the refusal of France to accept America's offer of mediation, and says China is willing to submit her case to any friendly Power.

A French Cabinet Council was held on Saturday, in accordance with previous announcements, for the discussion of the Chinese question. Prime Minister Ferry distinctly confirmed the report that China had not declared war. Admiral Peyron, Minister of Marine, read despatches from Admiral Courbet, which stated that he would resume operations as soon as he received reinforcements and a fresh supply of provisions. The question of convoking the Chambers was left to be decided by the Cabinet Council of September 23. Prime Minister Ferry, after a conference with the Secretaries of War and Marine, telegraphed to Admiral Courbet to resume warlike operations at once. General Camponon, Minister of War, refused to assent to the despatch of more troops from the *cadres* in France unless war against China should be declared. His advice was that the number of reinforcements should be limited to 1,000 men, and that these should be sent from Algiers. Admiral Courbet, on receipt of M. Ferry's despatch, left Matson with his whole fleet and started for the North. The Cabinet Council is said to have been a stormy one, some members urging an immediate calling together of the Chambers.

A Hong Kong despatch to the London *Times* on Tuesday said that Admiral Courbet's plan of campaign is now supposed to be to flank Kelung and march upon Tamsui, thus forcing the Chinese army southward, where the hill tribes are hostile. The despatch states that this campaign will probably be a failure, as a thousand troops from Tonquin will be inadequate to take Kelung, and the road to Tamsui is a mere ravine. The Chinese operations in Tonquin have been suspended.

Admiral Courbet estimated that his bombardment of the arsenal near Foo-Choo and of the forts along the Min River did damage to the amount of \$10,000,000.

Advices from Tamatave, Madagascar, of August 30 state that the French had bombarded and temporarily occupied Manuru, a town on the coast some distance south of Tamatave.

The death of M. Jean Augustin Barral, a well-known French chemist and physicist, is announced. He was sixty-five years of age.

General Lord Wolseley and Lord Northbrook were received by crowds on their arrival at Cairo. On Wednesday Lord Northbrook had an audience with the Khedive, and presented to him a letter from Earl Granville, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, requesting the assistance of the Egyptian Government in solving important questions, chiefly of a financial character, which England is now considering in relation to Egypt. The Khedive expressed himself as highly satisfied with the declarations of Lord Northbrook.

The resignation of the Marquis of Ripon as

Viceroy of India and the promotion of the Earl of Dufferin to that post were simultaneously announced by the British Government on Wednesday.

General Lord Wolseley advised the British Government on Thursday that it was his intention to adhere to the Nile route in his expedition to Khartum. He urged the importance of immediately forwarding the flotilla and commissary stores. Preparations are to be made, however, so that, if necessary, the expedition can proceed from Debbeh to Khartum by the desert route.

General Lord Wolseley will proceed to Wady Halfa as soon as the troops and transports have passed the Second Cataract. From that point the expedition will proceed to Dongola by water, and at Dongola it will be decided what route to pursue in the further advance to Khartum.

Major Kitchener telegraphed from Debbeh on Tuesday that the chief clerk of the Government at Darfur had arrived at Debbeh, having reached that town by way of Berber. This man reports that there are 2,300 prisoners at Berber. The rebel garrison there is 3,200 strong, and is armed with rifles. Abu Hegel, the chief of the Robatat tribe, he says, has 6,000 armed men under his command. The Mahdi's forces extend as far south as Ambukol. The most of the tribes, however, are growing tired of the continuance of misrule, and are inclined to rejoin the Government. The British War Office is preparing to reinforce General Wolseley with 1,000 men.

A report reached Cairo on Monday that General Gordon had taken two islands near Senaar, and that the Sheikhs of Dengli had several times defeated the Mahdi.

The Mudir of Dongola telegraphed from Debbeh on Thursday that numerous rebels from Kordofan and Meraweh, under the Mahdi's Amers, had been defeated near Ambukol with great slaughter. The military resumed the hauling of steamers up the cataracts, and hope for success despite the state of water in the Nile.

Recent advices report that the Mahdi is in South Kordofan with an army of 14,000 men, and that a detachment of 4,000 troops has been sent to reinforce the army besieging Khartum.

A fight occurred on Friday near Suakim between 4,200 of Osman Digna's rebel forces and 1,000 friendly Arabs under Mahmud. The latter lost his son and a number of followers. It is feared that the friendly tribes will be driven to cast their fortunes with the rebels unless the Government quickly comes to their assistance.

It is reported that England has offered to guarantee a loan to the Egyptian Government if Egypt will place the mosque property under English control as security.

Principal Dawson, of McGill University, Montreal, has received the honor of knighthood from Queen Victoria.

Mr. Dennis Duggan, a prominent Fenian, who was one of the party that rescued James Stephens, the Fenian head-centre, is dead.

A dynamite cartridge has been found at Leeds, England, in a petroleum cask which came from America.

The race for the St. Leger stakes at Doncaster, England, on Wednesday, was won by R. C. Vyner's bay colt, The Lambkin.

The Rajah of Tenom has submitted to the requests of the Dutch Government, and released all the members of the crew of the British steamer *Nisero*, who were captives on the island of Sumatra.

Reports up to September 6 from the interior of the United States of Colombia state that a revolution has been set on foot against the State Government by prominent leaders of the opposition. Fighting is reported from the cities of Socorro and San José de Cucuta, and a general disturbance is apprehended throughout the State.

MORE LIGHT FROM MULLIGAN.

THE new batch of letters which have been given to the public by Warren Fisher and James Mulligan close up most of the gaps caused by the untimely end of the Blaine investigation. Very little is left to the imagination. The new parts fit into the old scaffolding to a nicety, and the whole constitutes a framework of fraud and falsehood on the part of the Republican candidate for President which ought to leave him without an electoral vote in November.

The new points and the evidence which goes to establish them are mainly these:

I. Two letters of October 4 and 5, 1869, showing Mr. Blaine's intense anxiety to get something out of Caldwell in addition to the percentage he had already bargained for with Fisher. Two letters of October 4, 1869, on this subject had been published previously, in one of which Mr. Blaine had asked Fisher to acquaint Caldwell with the fact that he (Blaine) had done him (Caldwell) "a great favor" by making a certain ruling as Speaker, setting forth all the details, and showing how he saved the bill from the total defeat which threatened it at the hands of Julian, of Indiana. The other letter in the original batch repeated the same suggestions with greater urgency, enclosing also a copy of the *Congressional Globe*, and adding: "I am bothered by only one thing, and that is definite and expressed arrangements with Mr. Caldwell. I am anxious to acquire the interest he has promised me. But I do not get a definite understanding with him as I have with you." The third letter of October 4, 1869, encloses a lot of subscriptions which Mr. Blaine has induced his friends in Maine to make for Little Rock and Fort Smith securities, and recalls Mr. Fisher's attention to the Caldwell matter, with a suggestion that nobody need know that he (Blaine) has been selling any bonds on commission. If Caldwell knew that Blaine had already received, or was to receive, \$130,000 land bonds and \$32,500 first-mortgage bonds as a percentage for selling \$130,000 first-mortgage bonds, he might think that that was enough for the service rendered. The letter of the following day (October 5) again calls attention to the copy of the *Globe* to be shown to Mr. Caldwell, and says: "I have endeavored in writing not to be indelicate." So it appears that there were three letters written in one day and one on the following day to impress Caldwell with the idea that he ought to do something for Blaine on account of the great favor which Blaine had done him "without knowing it"; and that any favor returned by Caldwell would have been over and above the commission already obtained from Fisher.

II. Three letters, dated November 18, December 7, and December 9, 1870, showing how he (Blaine) could help Caldwell to get an allotment in a new distribution of national bank circulation. "It will be," he says, "to some extent a matter of favoritism as to who gets the banks in the several localities, and it will be in my power to cast 'an anchor to the windward' in your behalf if you desire it." He adds: "They are very profitable, say \$250,000." Of course the Speaker of the House could easily cast an anchor to the wind-

ward whenever there was any good thing going. In all the disclosures made by these and the former letters we have seen nothing more unblushing than this offer to use the "favoritism" which belonged to his official position to secure a good bank charter. It is immaterial whether the bank turned out to be profitable or not. Mr. Blaine thought that it would be "very profitable."

III. Letters from Fisher to Blaine, November 10, 1871, and April 15, 1872, explaining the source of the money which Blaine, as he said, "turned over within forty-eight hours" to the parties in Maine to whom he had sold bonds, after the bonds had depreciated in value. In the letter of November 10, 1871, Fisher says: "But taking into account the \$100,000 bonds you sold to Tom Scott, and the amount of money you received on the Eastern contracts, our relative positions financially in the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad bear a wide contrast." In the letter of April 15, 1872, Fisher says:

"Owing to your political position you were able to work off all your bonds at a very high price, and the fact is well known to others as well as myself. Would your friends in Maine be satisfied if they knew the facts?"

To this Blaine replied three days later (April 18, 1872), as follows:

"The sales of bonds which you spoke of my making, and which you seem to think were for my own benefit, were entirely otherwise. I did not have the money in my possession for forty-eight hours, but paid it over directly to the parties whom I tried by every means in my power to protect from loss."

The charge against Mr. Blaine, upon which the investigation was founded, was that he had "worked off" \$75,000 of these bonds on the Union Pacific Railroad for \$64,000 at the time when Tom Scott was President of the company. This was the charge which Mr. Blaine passionately denied, adding in his speech of April 24, 1876:

"I never had any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road, or the bonds of any other railroad, or any business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely."

While Mr. Fisher's letter of April 15 does not specifically mention Tom Scott as the person upon whom Blaine had worked off bonds at a very high price, yet his letter, when read in connection with that of November 10, 1871, shows that Scott was one of the parties referred to. But the material point is that he tells Blaine that he (Blaine) worked off the bonds "by means of his political position." This was the gravamen of the whole charge, and Mr. Blaine tacitly admits its truth by explaining that the money which he obtained in this way did not remain in his own pocket, but went to others. It is of course immaterial to the public what he did with any money which he obtained in that way.

IV. A letter and a telegram dated April 16, 1876, disclosing a shameless attempt to induce Fisher to tell a lie or a series of lies in order to cover up Blaine's transactions in Little Rock bonds. "I want you to send me such a letter as the enclosed draft," says Blaine, with a memorandum at the bottom, "Burn this letter." The enclosed draft is a form of a letter to be addressed by

Fisher to Blaine, first scouting the idea that he (Blaine) had ever obtained any of the bonds as a gratuity, and then saying that he (Blaine) had bought \$30,000 of the bonds "on precisely the same terms that every other buyer received, paying for them in instalments running over a considerable period just as others did." As this was a lie, Mr. Fisher, of course, never copied it or put his signature to it. That it was regarded by Mr. Blaine as a most damaging communication is shown by his repeated adjurations to Fisher to keep it secret. "Regard this letter as strictly confidential," he says. "Do not show it to any one," he adds; and then he closes with the solemn admonition to "burn it."

V. A letter from Fisher to Blaine, dated October 24, 1871, saying that Blaine had sold at 60 cents on the dollar \$50,000 of land bonds which he had received as collateral for a loan of \$25,000, realizing more than the amount of the loan. This is the loan which Mr. Blaine subsequently collected from the reorganized Little Rock Company, through an award of commissioners appointed by the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas. It sustains the charge made in the Boston *Herald* that in this transaction Mr. Blaine was paid twice, and that the court was deceived by a concealment of the fact that there was collateral security for the loan. The existence of such security was a fact of the first importance to the commissioners who were called upon to adjust the claim. They give a careful résumé of Mr. Blaine's statement of the nature of his claim, but no mention is made of the collateral. Mr. Blaine himself acknowledged its existence in two letters to Fisher, written subsequently to the date of Fisher's letter in which the sale of these collateral bonds is mentioned.

VI. A letter of June 14, 1871, in which Mr. Blaine says that there are still \$70,000 of land bonds due him under the Fisher contract. As the contract called for \$125,000 of this class of bonds, it appears that \$55,000 had already been delivered. These, added to the \$50,000 of similar bonds held as collateral, were more than sufficient to account for the \$75,000 found in the Union Pacific Treasury. In the investigation Mr. Blaine endeavored to show that he could not have had a sufficient number of land bonds to make up the amount, and in his speech of June 5, 1876, he emphasized this point strongly. It is now proved that he had more than sufficient. He had at least \$105,000 of land bonds. Mr. Fisher, in his letter of November 10, 1871, speaks of Blaine's sale of \$100,000 to Tom Scott as a matter well understood between them, and Blaine makes no denial of it.

VII. The letter from Blaine to Fisher of November 8, 1871, and Fisher's reply of November 10, show that Blaine was in need of bonds for some purpose other than to deliver on his contracts with parties in Maine. These contracts, Mr. Fisher tells him, had all been fulfilled, the securities delivered and receipts in full taken from the subscribers. But the amounts deliverable to Blaine as commissions on sales had not all been delivered, and could not be until certain sections of the road were completed. These letters explain the frequent complaints of Mr. Blaine that he alone had failed to get

bonds which had been long ago "paid for." Fisher's letter alluding to Blaine's facilities for selling his own bonds at a very high price by reason of his political position explains his anxiety to get hold of the bonds still due him under the contract. The bonds were of very little value in November, 1871, to anybody who had not political position to sell with them.

VIII. The character of the letter which Blaine prepared for Fisher to sign, suggests that the other letters produced in Mr. Blaine's speech of April 24, 1876, from Rollins, Dillon, and Scott, and the subsequent cable telegram from Caldwell, were all concocted in the same way—that is, written by Blaine for the others to sign. It was proved that the Caldwell telegram was cabled without signature from Philadelphia to London, with a request that it should be cabled back to the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. As this was Mr. Blaine's method of getting vindication, it is not difficult to fix the parentage of the whole series of letters. They are all written in the same style, and in the style of the proposed Fisher letter, and in the style of the speech. The letter sent to Fisher to be copied and returned has an air of remarkable brazenness when read by the light of the next preceding letters of the series (Fisher to Blaine, November 10, 1871, and April 15, 1872), in which Fisher speaks of Blaine's selling \$100,000 of bonds to Tom Scott, and obtaining "a large amount of both bonds and money free of cost." In the letter which Fisher is asked to copy and return he is made to say that Blaine had only \$30,000 of the bonds in all, and that he obtained these by purchase like any other buyer, "paying for them in instalments." Instalments of what? Mr. George Bliss would probably say instalments of influence.

These letters, like the earlier ones, and even more than those, show Mr. Blaine in the character of an adventurer, to whom public measures as they arise instantly assume the shape of dollars. If there is an amendment to the Northern Pacific Railroad Act or a new deal in its management, his "first and best impulse" is to get an interest, or, as he calls it, "a small flyer," for friends who can help him in their turn. If there is an amendment of the National Banking Act, his first thought is that something can be made out of it by the "favoritism" which goes with the Speaker's office. If he has made a ruling advantageous to a railroad company, his mind turns naturally to the thought that the beneficiaries may be induced to let him have an interest if he presses the ruling with sufficient earnestness on their attention. These are illustrations showing what shape public measures naturally and instinctively take in his mind.

"KEEP MY NAME QUIET."

THERE are many odd things in the existing political situation, but nothing odder than the presentation of Mr. Blaine to the voters as a bluff, outspoken, aggressive, and impulsive person, who wears his heart on his sleeve, and is always ready for a fight. The truth is that he is one of the coolest, most calculating, and least impulsive of men, who never takes a

step without maturely estimating the consequences, and never offers to fight until he has found all the doors locked and the key in his adversary's pocket. He rarely does anything as a public man for anybody without seeing what it is likely to bring him in. Most such men, however, frequently overreach themselves. Years of successful intrigue breed a love of intrigue, which leads them to intrigue too much, and thus get entangled in the meshes of their own nets. He is no exception to the rule. Ever since he became ambitious to be President, he has been laying his plans to catch votes, but has never been able to make up his mind which voters he needed most, or could best dispense with. He has consequently for years been trying to catch them all, except the free-traders, and he would have tried to catch them if he had not thought them so small a body.

A policy of this kind cannot be long pursued, however, either in public or private life, without getting a man into terrible scrapes. In private life he has to tell different stories to different people, and occasionally they meet and compare notes, and are infuriated by finding that they have been the dupes of a double dealer. In public life the case is worse, because he has to perform his tricks openly, and has nothing to rely on to save him from exposure but popular forgetfulness and the devotion of newspaper organs. In fact, a good lying organ is as indispensable to a demagogue of this kind, who is trying to be all things to all men in rapid succession, as a confederate to a confidence man. There is no use in leading the old gentleman in from the street, to see the knave receive payment of a lottery ticket, unless there is some one in the office to acknowledge the debt and hand over the money.

Nothing has given Mr. Blaine so much trouble in this campaign as the liquor question. His own State, which must stand by him to give him any chance in the national arena, has long been prohibitionist. It was easy enough for Mr. Blaine to be a prohibitionist as long as he desired nothing which the State could not give him. But as soon as the votes of other States became necessary to him, and in some of these the anti-prohibitionists were powerful, his situation became most perplexing. When Mr. Blaine's situation becomes perplexing in any matter, however, he does not act as the bluff, hearty, aggressive man, which those who do not know him are led to believe him to be. He does not, in other words, choose one of two courses, and send the critics and carpers to the devil. The last thing he thinks of is calling for his horse and spear and asking where his enemy is. His first thought always is whether he cannot disappear—whether there is no place in which he can hide till the trouble blows over, after having left general directions to "keep his name quiet, mentioning it to no one except Mr. Caldwell." If there are letters, he steals them and locks them up. If there is a troublesome witness, he urges him to leave the country or hold his tongue. If there is a committee sitting, he says they are a lot of rebels, and refuses to take any notice of them. What he

always longs for, in fact, when people are making inquiries about him, is quiet and seclusion.

His management of the prohibition perplexity has, however, been over-dexterous—so dexterous, in fact, and characteristic as to be absolutely amusing. The *Elkins and Tribune* "Jim Blaine" would, of course, have said he would vote on that issue with the people of his State, come what might—that he was not the man to shirk or dodge. But the real James G. Blaine, as known to those who have had most dealings with him, did nothing of the kind. He determined to get out of the difficulty by sheer humbug. After thinking it over, he apparently came to the conclusion last year that he could humbug both sides by one stroke, so he wrote in November his famous letter, in which he proposed that the general Government should levy a heavy tax on whiskey drinkers all over the country, and apply the proceeds to paying the local taxes of those who hated drink. When he produced this, with a flourish, he evidently thought he had got out of his trouble, and could meet both the liquor and the anti-liquor men with a hearty shake of the hand, and magnetize them all by one operation. When it failed, and had to be withdrawn, he was worse off than ever. He then appears to have decided that he would meet each exigency as it arose—that is, humbug first those who first bothered him, and then humbug the others afterwards. So, being beguiled by poor Neal Dow, the veteran Maine Prohibitionist, immediately after his nomination, to know how he stood on the great question which was agitating his State, he appears to have deceived the old man into writing the following letter, and he can hardly have deceived him without some old-fashioned Little Rock lying.

PORTLAND, July 14, 1884.

DEAR SIR: I am just home from the East and find your note of the 11th. I have been constantly receiving letters like yours of inquiry about Mr. Blaine. My earliest answers were that he was not a teetotaler, but was a friend of prohibition, and had done us good service many times; that he was also a friend to the proposed constitutional amendment, and *will vote for it*. I afterwards learned that he has been an abstainer for several years. Very respectfully,

NEAL DOW.

In this way an excellent campaign document was provided for local use, which would help to keep up the State majority to a point that would give promise of victory in November, and as such it was copiously circulated up to the day of election. The delusion that Blaine was going to vote with the vast majority of his fellow-citizens of Maine on a matter which they consider vitally important to their peace, happiness, and prosperity, was thus kept up until the afternoon of Monday week, when the votes were nearly all cast, and the Prohibitionist ladies who were waiting for the big, hearty, and impulsive creature at the polls, had been driven home by the rain. He then set to work to humbug the Germans and other anti-Prohibitionists of the West, who he knew were waiting and watching, also, to see what he would do,

and boldly announced, when he was sure of his local majority, that he would not vote on the Prohibitory Amendment at all. A serenade having been arranged to enable him to complete the job by explaining his abstention, he said:

"For myself, I decided not to vote at all on the question. I took this position because I am chosen by the Republican party as the representative of national issues, and by no act of mine shall any question be obtruded into the national campaign which belongs properly to the domain of State politics. Certain advocates of prohibition and certain opponents of prohibition are seeking to drag the issue into the national canvass, and thus tending to exclude from popular consideration the questions which press for national decision. If there be any questions that belong solely to the police power of the State, it is the control of the liquor traffic, and wise men will not neglect national issues in the year of a national contest. Judicious friends of a protective tariff, which is the practical issue of the campaign, will not divert their votes to the question of prohibition, which is not a practical issue in the national campaign."

Considering that he was himself the author of a scheme to make the United States levy and distribute a tax on whiskey large enough to pay the expenses of local government all over the country, and that there is a Prohibitionist Presidential ticket in the field, his refusal to vote on the most important of State questions, at a State election, lest he should be the means of "dragging the issue into national politics," must, all things considered, be set down as the funniest of all his attempts to "keep his name quiet." He evidently wishes his connection with the liquor question, like his connection with the Northern Pacific, to be "mentioned to no one but Mr. Caldwell." But how much more of this charlatany can the country swallow?

THE STANDARD OF OFFICIAL MORALITY.

THE *Times* says, very aptly and forcibly, that discussing the impropriety of Mr. Speaker Blaine's speculation in Little Rock securities with people like Mr. George Bliss, is very like "attempting to demonstrate the impropriety of the Mother Hubbard dress to a naked Hottentot." The cause and origin of the Blaine nomination, which is breaking up the Republican party, is in fact the loss by a large portion of the party managers of the old standard of official propriety. It is consequently very difficult to argue questions of political ethics with them, for want of a common rule of decision. As Mr. Charles R. Codman says in his recent letter, the difficulty which they have in seeing anything wrong about their candidate is "something worse than individual immorality, and is a symptom of the wholesale corruption of the Republican managers"—that is, not only is Blaine unfit to be President, but his supporters have apparently forgotten what fitness is, and, if they had not nominated him, would have been quite capable of nominating somebody else just as bad.

This decline began with the war, and indeed may be said to have been one of the usual and almost inevitable consequences of a great

war. The difficulties of the situation during the war were so great that everybody's help was welcome without regard to his character. Cheating and stealing, if not on too great a scale, had to be overlooked for want of time to pursue and punish them. Contractors became great public benefactors by merely forwarding their supplies in season. Keeping the Republican party in power was as necessary as keeping the army in the field, and the work had to be done just as remorselessly and unscrupulously as the fighting of a battle. When the war closed and the nation had time to take breath and ascertain the damage to public morals which the struggle had wrought, a cruel fate had deprived the country of the great civilian who alone, of the public men of that day, had the power as well as the will to bring the country back to the ancient ways of official probity. The four years after his death were passed in a fight between Congress and Andrew Johnson, and then there entered the White House a man who, in spite of his great military merits, had probably a lower standard of official rectitude than anybody who has occupied a high place in any Christian country within the present century. There have been officers more corrupt, and who winked at more corruption, but not one, we venture to say, who was so insensible to the scandal and mischief of corruption, or who had so little comprehension of what the people meant who inveighed against the class of persons with whom he surrounded himself, and whom he sustained against the denunciations of the press. Moreover, both under his Administration and under his successor's, the condition of the South furnished the corruptionists, who had grown more powerful and more solidly entrenched every year, with a ready means of diverting public attention from all questions of internal reform, and of familiarizing the public mind with the spectacle of politicians "on the make." Blaine's nomination came, therefore, as it were, naturally. The men who made it could not be got to understand before it was made why it was objectionable. They had forgotten the standard of public life which used to exist in this country, and still exists in others; and, when it was reproduced by the Independents, they looked on it as a new-fangled contrivance of a parcel of dilletanti.

Another most striking and impressive illustration of the depth to which the party demoralization has gone, is to be found in the support now given to Blaine by a large number of men, of good standing in the party, who were opposed to Blaine's nomination before it was made, for precisely the same reasons for which the Independents are now opposed to his election. We could mention a dozen of them who believed on the 1st of June last that Blaine was morally disqualified for the Presidency, and made no secret of their belief, but who are now on the stump maintaining that he is morally qualified for the Presidency—and this not through any change of belief or any new light on the facts, but through willingness to evade, prevaricate, suppress, and in some cases to lie boldly, for the sake of the party. We say de-

liberately that greater disgrace than these men are to-day inflicting on American Government and society has not been witnessed in modern times. When Mr. Cabot Lodge, for instance, alleges on the stump that Cleveland is a weak man, he says something which he will have as much difficulty in getting people to accept as his sincere belief as when he says that Blaine is an honest politician; and yet Mr. Lodge has had every advantage in the way of training, and every encouragement to maintain his personal dignity and integrity, that American society can offer. And when ex-Governor Long, also a Harvard graduate, gets up and says that Gladstone or Bismarck might have done without discredit what Blaine has done, he will get but few to believe that he does not know better; that he does not know right well that to have had the Mulligan letters produced against them would have covered either of these great men with an ignominy from which nothing but death could have relieved them. Blaine probably cannot understand anybody's filling such positions as they fill without making money out of them by any means that offers; but Mr. Long has had better opportunities than Blaine of understanding the public morality of other countries. Of the spectacle of moral degradation presented by the Blaine press in many parts of the country, and particularly in Cincinnati and Chicago, we do not need to speak. We know of nothing approaching to it in the history of popular agitation. A more impressive warning to the young men of the country that the time has come to save the Government from a party which does not hesitate to compel its organs and orators to make public confession of their own want of principles, and convictions, and even of self-respect, we could not wish for.

A SCIENTIFIC TARIFF.

MR. CARROLL D. WRIGHT's paper on the "Scientific Basis of Tariff Legislation" appears on first examination to be a very thorough treatment of the difficult subject to which it relates, and equal to his reputation as a statistician, but we cannot consider it either conclusive or specially helpful. Briefly stated, Mr. Wright proposes to settle the tariff question as to any particular article by determining what rate of duty is needed to put the American manufacturer on an equal footing with the foreigner in the American market. To use his own illustration, it is desired to ascertain what is the absolute cost to the manufacturer of a yard of broadcloth in this country, and what is the cost of the same to an English or French producer. Then, by adding the cost of transportation, we should know exactly what rate of duty would be necessary to put them on an equality, so that, as Mr. Wright puts it, "the American manufacturer would have no inducement to abandon his factory in America and move to England or Canada."

In so far as Mr. Wright seeks merely to place information before the people to enable them to determine whether it is worth their while to pay \$1 more per yard for broadcloth than it is worth in a free market, in order to

make good the losses which would otherwise be sustained by makers in this country, his plan would be commendable if it were susceptible of execution. But the results attained would be inconclusive, and would fall short of a scientific basis for tariff legislation, unless the inquiry were extended so as to show not only the encouragement given to one industry, but the discouragement given to others. To illustrate: the English Government was asked to impose a duty of one farthing per pound on refined sugar, in order to put the English refiner on a footing of equality with the Continental refiners, who receive a bounty of one farthing per pound from their governments. Nothing could be clearer than the proof offered that an inequality existed, since it was reached by a mere comparison of figures. The English Government, however, did not consider that the whole of the case. They extended the inquiry so as to see how other industries would be affected by the farthing additional on the pound of sugar. They found that the confectioners, the fruit preservers, the brewers, the chemists, the bakers, and various other trades, far outnumbering the sugar refiners, would be injured greatly more than the refiners would be benefited. The petition of the refiners was accordingly denied. Incidentally it was learned that, in spite of the Continental bounty, the English refiners were doing remarkably well and extending their business and their sales from year to year.

Here appears to be a case where all of Mr. Wright's statistics, if he should succeed in collecting them, would be at fault, because they would lead to an erroneous conclusion. *Prima facie* the English sugar refiners were at a disadvantage. All the data collectible under the seventeen heads which Mr. Wright tabulates could not make the case clearer, nor would all the data embraced in these specifications have enabled the Government to ascertain whether there was any good reason for imposing any duty on foreign sugar. The bare fact that sugar refining went on in England, despite the foreign bounty, was worth more than an ocean of statistics. It could have been proved by tabular statements and by *a priori* reasoning, undoubtedly, that sugar refining could not be carried on in England at all under the discouragements created by the Continental bounties. Yet it was carried on successfully. Some element or elements entering into the production of the article other than the bounty and other than wages, which are higher in England than on the Continent, enabled the English producer to hold his own. Probably this element was free trade itself, which is, like the atmosphere, everywhere present but invisible, impalpable, and not susceptible of tabulation by statistics.

Let us take another illustration. Some years ago a revision of certain portions of the tariff was made by the Committee of Ways and Means at Washington. They found among other things that two kinds of cotton thread of the same sizes were taxed at different rates, one at 25 per cent. and the other at 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. It seemed incongruous, and the impulse was a natural one to put both on the same footing; but before venturing upon a change

the consequences of which could not be known with certainty, they sent for an expert in the cotton industry—a gentleman having the widest reputation for knowledge and the highest standing for sincerity and disinterestedness—and put the question to him: "Is there any reason why one of these articles should stand at a higher or lower rate of duty than the other?" The gentleman thus interrogated took time to consider, and eventually answered that he could see no reason for the difference in the rates. They accordingly raised the thread standing in the 25 per cent. schedule up to the 50 per cent. schedule, and the bill became a law. Some weeks after the adjournment of Congress, the expert, while busy in his own office in Boston, received a call from a stranger, who inquired whether he (the Boston gentleman) had had anything to do with the change in the duty on thread. He replied that he had, and narrated all the circumstances. "Well," said the stranger, "all I have to say is that you have ruined me and turned out of employment all the hands in my factory. I am a manufacturer of elastics for gaiter shoes. The thread upon which you have doubled the duty was used in my trade. It was fit for nothing else. Since the duty has been increased it is cheaper to import the elastics already made." The Boston expert, who had performed what he deemed a public duty at some considerable sacrifice of time and labor, vowed that he would never again undertake to trace the consequences of an import duty through the ramifications of industry, either in his own trade or any other, with the view of making himself responsible for such consequences.

No statistical treatment of the tariff can be satisfactory which does not trace the consequences of each duty to and through all the industries related to it. Such a task is impossible of execution.

THE CROPS AND THE STATE OF TRADE.

THE anomalous situation of trade and industry, consisting of a great abundance of everything needful to human comfort, and the lowest range of prices known for thirty years, but characterized by stagnation, low wages, a low rate of interest, and lack of employment, continues to puzzle the student of economic science as well as the experienced man of business. The large crops of the present year, the most bountiful, perhaps, that the country has ever known, have failed as yet to revive or stimulate trade in any marked degree. It would seem as though the country were suffering from too much of everything, and not, as in former periods of commercial dulness, from too much of some things and not enough of others. The disproportion of industry which was the marked feature of the period from 1873 to 1879, no longer exists. There is an excess of production in manufactures now as there was then, but no deficiency in agriculture. There seems to be now an excess of both, and, in addition, an excess of the means of transportation, whereby the results of human labor are exchanged for each other.

Notwithstanding this seeming incongruity and negation of the principles of economic science, it must be true that a country's prosperity is grounded upon the abundance and not upon the paucity of its industrial products. It must be true that a nation grows rich by riches and not by scarcity. It must turn out that the great harvests of the present year, and the great productive power now partially idle in other branches of industry, will yield eventually and before long that condition of things commonly described by the phrase "good times." The intervention of money, and of prices computed in money, serves to obscure the real workings of commerce; but the processes are and can be in no wise different from a state of society in which trade should be carried on simply by barter, except that barter is made easier with money than without it. All trade is the exchange of product for product, money serving only to grease the wheels.

Keeping this fact in view, let us take a glance at an isolated community and a primitive state of society in which the conditions of industry should be analogous to those now existing in the United States. In the primitive state all persons obtain from the soil everything needed for their own support. As soon, however, as a surplus of food is accumulated, a portion of the inhabitants engage in employments other than agricultural, and exchange their products for a portion of the surplus raised by those still employed in the production of food. This is the beginning of civilization, and as the surplus of food is augmented, civilization widens through diversification of industry, the wants of men increasing with the increase of means for gratifying them. It is evident that in an isolated community having an abundance of land there could never be any such thing as distress except from a failure of crops proceeding from drought or other natural causes. Distress resulting from too great abundance of the products of agriculture would be impossible. Distress resulting from too great abundance of other products would be corrected by the taking up of new land by the unemployed producers of the things found to be in excess.

The existing situation of the United States fulfils all the conditions of the imaginary state we have described, except that money and prices and foreign trade have been introduced to obscure and complicate the problem. Whatever would take place in an isolated and primitive community living under the rule of barter will take place here and now. Whatever would be the effect of large crops and a superabundance of everything needful to man in the one case will take place in the other. The movement among fifty-six millions of people will be slower than in a village community of antiquity, or of Northern India of the present day, but it will be the same in substance. The excess of agricultural products when it comes to market will revive and stimulate every other branch of industry. The mere anticipation of such excess will not do this. The crops of 1884 are not yet in the market. They will not come in perhaps till next year. Farmers who have become accustomed to a

certain range of prices for their products will hold them back for a time if prices are unsatisfactory. They make no account of the fact that the things they buy are correspondingly as low as or lower than the price of wheat; that they can get more cloth, iron, sugar, books, sewing-machines, and parlor organs for a given quantity of wheat at 75 cents per bushel than they could when it was selling at one dollar. But such is the fact. One dollar is to them an ideal price, and so it will be until necessity forces them to sell at what wheat is worth under the altered condition of things. It may be that the world has entered upon a permanently lower scale of prices than has been known since the gold discoveries in California and Australia. There is no harm in this, except that the transition is painful. This transition, it appears to us, has already been accomplished, and the pain endured. We look for improvement in all branches of trade, beginning with the present harvest, for we cannot think that the world is coming to an end through an excess of everything which conduces to man's happiness and to the progress of civilization.

A NEW HISTORICAL MOVEMENT.

THE American Historical Association, which was called to its first annual meeting at Saratoga on September 9, under the auspices of the Social Science Association, has shown its American character by declaring independence and adopting a constitution. The object of the new association is the promotion of historical studies in this country, not in a narrow or provincial sense, but in a liberal spirit which shall foster not merely American history but history in America. There are already many historical societies throughout the land, but they are devoted to interests more or less sectional or local. There are State historical societies, County, and even Town societies, that for many years have been doing historical work of great value, although they are necessarily restricted in most cases to the historical ground represented by the society's name. There is clearly room for an historical society which shall be neither local nor sectional, but truly national. We understand that this enlarged idea of an American historical association, representing all parts of the country and history in general, is the outgrowth of the catholic spirit represented by some of our American colleges and universities, where students from various sections learn national and liberal ideas and catch glimpses of the world through the science of history. The American Historical Association is not, however, to be restricted to academic circles; it will open its ranks to historical specialists and active workers everywhere, whether in this country or in Europe, in State or local historical societies, or in any isolated individual field. In the words of the constitution, which is remarkable for its brevity, "Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying \$3," which is the annual fee. The payment of \$25, under the above condition of executive approval, secures life-membership and exemption from the annual dues. This form of discounting the future, and of settling with the treasurer of an active and growing association with promise of long life, would be good economy for young American specialists in history.

There were enrolled at the organization in Saratoga forty-one active members, one of them for life. No honorary members in this country are to be elected, and none in Europe have as yet

been chosen; but the Executive Council has selected 120 well-known American students of history, living in different parts of the country, to whom invitations to accept active membership will shortly be extended by the Secretary. This number of select members will be increased during the coming year by the Council, which has full power to pass final or suspensive judgment upon nominations that may be communicated to this body through the Secretary. The Council consists of the regular officers of the Association, viz.: the President, Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University; two Vice-Presidents, Professors Justin Winsor, of Harvard College, and Charles Kendall Adams, of the University of Michigan; Secretary, Dr. Herbert B. Adams (whose address is Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore); Treasurer, Clarence Winthrop Bowen (whose address is the *Independent*, New York city); and four associates in Council, Mr. Charles Deane, Cambridge; Mr. William B. Weedon, of Providence; Professors E. Emerton, of Harvard College, and Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell University. In this Executive Council, which has entire charge of the general interests of the Association, the academic element appears to dominate, but men of affairs are also represented, and the name of Charles Deane is of itself sufficient to command the confidence of State historical societies throughout the country.

It may not be known to many of our readers, for it certainly was known to but few members of the American Historical Association at the time of its organization, that there was once in this country an "American Historical Society," having its seat in Washington, D. C., and occasional meetings in the House of Representatives at the Capitol. The Society was founded in the year 1836. Its first President was John Quincy Adams, and its most active member was probably Peter Force, to whom this country owes a great debt of gratitude for the publication of many rare tracts relating to our early colonial history, and for his laborious work in collecting the 'American Archives.' A large portion of the first volume of the Transactions of the American Historical Society, which was exhibited at Saratoga by Doctor Parsons, delegate from the Rhode Island Historical Society, consists of reprints by Peter Force of such ancient memoirs and historical tracts as appear in his own well-known collections, so that we may properly associate the work of the first American Historical Society with the most valuable line of historical publication ever undertaken in this country—for the individual work of Peter Force, in connection with this society of Washington residents and politicians, who met in the House of Representatives, developed into a national undertaking. Although publication of the 'American Archives' by the general Government was long ago suspended, it is important to remember that many volumes of state papers collected by Peter Force yet remain for publication, and that possibly some influence can be exerted upon Congress by the new Association toward the resumption of a good work left unfinished. The old Society, while national in name, was really a local organization of residents in Washington city, with a few honorary members in the individual States and in various European countries. The new Society is to be a national association of active workers from many local centres of academic learning and corporate influence. Although without a local habitation, it will doubtless soon have a good name in the land which gave it birth, and it will probably enjoy a longer life and greater usefulness than did its Washington predecessor, a society whose life-work was confined to a few annual addresses by distinguished politicians and to reprints of papers not its own.

An active, creative spirit is the one thing need-

ful in the American Historical Association which is now to be. Other societies, together with the State and national governments, will continue to attend to the publication of archives; but this new Association is designed for original work. A pamphlet will soon be issued by the Secretary containing a report of the proceedings at Saratoga, September 9, 10, the constitution of the Association, abstracts of all the papers read, and President White's public address on "Synthetic Studies in History," which advocates the synthesis of special work into general forms—an idea quite in harmony with that of the American Historical Association, which is but a general union of the best elements of all our special societies and our local schools of history. Other publications will follow, probably in the form of separate monographs, which may be ultimately combined into serial volumes. For this purpose the annual fees of a large society, with few current expenses, will no doubt accomplish much, but the endowment of research in special lines, and the establishment of a publication fund, are imperatively needed.

A PROPHET AMONG THE PAINTERS.

LONDON, August 31.

THE decline of criticism in England which has been going on for years was long ago noted in your columns, as it has been the subject of much comment and discussion among thoughtful people here; but the discontent at the progressive degradation of the critical standard has never produced an effective revolt, or a serious attempt to raise a higher standard of criticism. It is possible that the people who perceive most clearly the decadence, and might raise the most effective protest, are those who are the most indifferent to criticism good or bad; and the lesser people who suffer unjustly by the system of puffery and personalities which has taken the place of criticism feel, that, in the absence of the greater names, their own would give no force to a protest, and would only add ridicule to neglect. Now and then some one raises a personal outcry, which dies away when uttered, and is forgotten before any other takes it up; but the tone of all English life, social, literary, and artistic, has grown so egoistic, become so utterly absorbed in the struggle for individual advantage, that nothing but a social cataclysm can open the way to a reformer in any branch of thought.

This conviction inclines me to attach small ultimate importance to what is in itself a noteworthy personal revolt against the inanity and impotence of English art criticism—the entry of William Morris into this field, where his shafts, driven with real knowledge of art and artists, with profound conviction and purpose of utility, and weighted by the persuasion that art is an indispensable element in the social reforms to which he is so much devoted, hit to the very heart the preposterous and empty art of the day—i. e., if it have any heart or other indispensable organ of vitality. Mr. Morris has every qualification for an art critic which a sound theory of art instruction can require. He is practically conversant with art in various phases, is a competent master of his means of expression, and for many years the fellow-student with the best painters of the artistic school of England. Even the most correct critic in differing with him must do so with respect, and under the rule that tastes may differ on condition that they are tastes and not mere ignorant preferences. A difference between him and Ruskin, for instance, would be based rather on antagonistic theories or doctrines of art, and in such case Morris would be the more likely to be right, as holding more securely to the general artistic view of the function of art. But between Morris and our press critic there is an unfathom-

able abyss; for if the former is not the most infallible of critics, the latter is the most incapable, and only worth talking of because, in the crass ignorance of art which lies on the general public like one of our November fogs, the weight in influence of great journals (after all deductions made, the most serious and upright of our day) is given to the perpetuation of that ignorance and the perpetual misleading of public taste. There is no knowledge of art in the public, and therefore no respect for art among the artists, because there is no care on the part of the controllers of the press as to whom they intrust with the power over public opinion which they wield, and the sole criterion of the praiser is probably his personal liking for the praised, and, at best, his personal preferences for a certain kind of subject and a manner of treatment not above his understanding.

I regret not to have at hand a copy of the *Times* which contains one of the Academy criticisms; but as the *Pull Mall Gazette* puts its notices in a pamphlet form more handy and permanent than its daily issue, I am able to refer to some of these which are neither better nor worse than the rest of the press opinions. This is a sample taken at random of what it offers for criticism, and in sculpture, too, where the conditions are of the simplest:

"1682, 'Bless me, even me also, O my father,' Mr. Roscoe Mullins, whose work has a rocky character which distinguishes it from that of most English sculptors, has achieved a signal success with this group. Esau presses forward to win Jacob's blessing so that his body is parallel with the reclining figure of the patriarch. This is a very vigorous piece of modelling well carried out."

And then of painting:

"1539, 'Heave Away.' This hangs just at the same point where the painter, Mr. W. L. Wyllie, made his great success last year with 'Toil, Glitter, and Crime.' His picture of this year, barges shooting Rochester Bridge, is less gloomy in color, but also, we are afraid, a little less impressive. 1552, 'Conquest.' A captured maiden following a middle-aged warrior into a castle keep. This is an example of the romantic survival in our art which bewilders modern foreign critics. The painter of this old-fashioned composition is Mr. Blair Leighton. 1554-6, 'A Love Story.' The history of the woes and joys of a servant-maid, humorously drawn and somewhat crudely colored by Miss Maria Brooks, in three scenes. Not very elevated art, perhaps, but more 'on the spot,' surely, than Mr. Blair Leighton's deeds of chivalry."

And so on with vacuous platitudes *ad infinitum et ad nauseam*. This is what the enterprising, outspoken, and generally well-conducted organ of English progress offers to its readers as art-instruction. It is with this chaff and Blackburn's 'Academy Guide' (*par nobilis*) in hand that the docile English public wanders through the Academy exhibition seeking art-culture by the critic's mediation. This is the kind of encouragement which an earnest young artist may look forward to as the reward of merit. A work which, like Mr. Blair Leighton's, is at least a conscientious effort towards pure "art for art's sake," is certainly less "on the spot" to such critics than a crude bit of chaff on servant-girls' life like Miss Brooks's. And if an innovation in the way of thoughtful and courageous criticism could be hoped for, it would be to the *Pull Mall Gazette* that we should look for it.

Naturally, Morris turns his back on the general public, and, having embraced Socialism and the cause of labor, he gives his culture where he thinks it may bear fruit, to the Socialistic public, in *To-Day*, the organ of his sect. But his is the only piece of thoughtful criticism which the Academy has called out of journalism this year. Some of his more generalized criticism in "Art under Plutocracy" treats of the influences which attack or favor art in the larger sense in the same thoughtful tone. I have left myself only room

to speak here of the former. This is the general criticism on the *ensemble* of the Academy exhibition:

"Skill of execution is the first thing we must seek for, since without it a picture is incapable of expressing anything, is a failure and not a picture. Well, there are signs here and there on the walls of the Academy of skill of a certain kind, but what does it amount to? Does it give us any reasonable hope of establishing by our present method of artistic life a workmanlike traditional skill, continuous and progressive, so that while there may be hope for a man of genius for pushing forward the standard of excellence, no one, be he of genius or not, need waste half the energies of his life in half fruitless individual experiments, the results of which he cannot pass on to others? What signs are there of collective skill, the skill of the school which nurses moderate talent and sets genius free? Scanty signs, indeed; at best a plausible appearance of workmanlike execution, a low kind of skill which manages to get through the job, but in so dull and joyless a way that one's eye almost refuses to rest upon the canvas or one's brain to take in any idea it may strive to express. That is all, I fear, that can claim to represent anything like traditional workmanlike skill. What other skill of execution is visible is chiefly, almost entirely, an amateurlike cleverness, experimental, uncertain, never successful in accomplishing real work, in expressing a fact as an imagination simply and straightforwardly, but often enough succeeding in thrusting itself forward and attracting attention to itself as something dashing, clever, and—useless; the end, not the means. Of this kind of skill there is a good deal; and, to speak plainly, it is on this quality, such as it is, that most of the pictures must rest their claim to attention."

The qualities of English art have not been, *me judice*, so well told in so few words by any writer on art. I must limit myself to two or three special criticisms on the *sommits* of English art:

"The first of these is Mr. Orchardson's 'Marriage de Convenience,' which is certainly clever enough to force the attention of the passer-by; but on what terms? The subject, which is trite enough to have been let alone, is repulsive; but I will let that pass, although it is of itself enough to condemn the picture in the eyes of a reasonable person. It may be said that it is dramatic, and it is, but again at what an expense! The drama is laid on with a trowel. . . . But once again, granted that it was necessary to make the luckless pair . . . attain to the very height of repulsiveness, and that the black ugliness of the surroundings was also necessary, was it essential that the coloring and execution should be thoroughly repulsive also? . . . Does the wretched color help the drama really?"

The fact is that Mr. Orchardson was determined at any cost to attract attention, and has chosen to do so by heaping one ugliness on another, from the laying on of the paint to the subject and its dramatic treatment, and so has achieved his end, indeed, but in so doing has insulted art and produced a monstrosity.

"Near this picture, so worthless in its aim and so false in its method, hangs another—a sorry sight indeed; the record of a ruined reputation, of a wasted life, of a genius bought and sold and thrown away—Mr. Millais's 'Idyl'; the subject of which, when we first heard of it, seemed good enough for a painter of whom it must be said at his best that his treatment of a subject reconciles us to the subject itself. But the first glimpse of the picture made an end of any hopes the subject had given us. It is true that the drummer-boy, both face and figure, does recall, not Millais at his best, but yet Mr. Millais as one yet hoped he might be; although he has made not the slightest attempt to temper into something tolerable the horrible red and yellow of an English drummer's coat as worn to-day, though not, if Mr. Millais knew it, in the Pretender's time. But beyond this one figure there is absolutely nothing in a bigish canvas; the heads of the three Highland girls are mere caricatures of the artist's former work; the glen in which they are seated, the glimpse of the royal army, the drummer's companion are so much meaningless scribble; the very drum is painted without pleasure; the canvas is filled up, and since it has Millais's name on it, is now ready for the market—that is all."

It is no use playing with the question—those who wish to have art in these passing days must forget 300 years and go to school with the craftsmen and painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the alternative is to accept as art the useless cleverness of Mr. Orchardson or Mr. Fildes, or the meretricious platitudes of M. Bouguereau, and I say emphatically that this is not art."

Imagine the sensation Morris would make as critic of the *Times*—the unsettling of all the profound convictions of imbecility, and overturning the precedents of opinionless propriety, in the pachydermatous English public!

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE SAND.

PARIS, August 30.

THE last letters of Mme. Sand are to a Frenchman very interesting. She was, in the generation of 1870, the representative of another age; she was a Romantic, lost among the Naturalists and the Realists—a Socialist and a republican of the school of Rousseau among the positivist republicans. She was at a loss to understand the new men and the new doctrines. Her good sense told her to stand by M. Thiers, whom she had always hated and despised as a *bourgeois*; her good heart filled her with indignation at the cruel men of the Commune and at the people of Paris, though the people of Paris had been the idol of her whole life. She had attributed to the people all the virtues which she did not find in the bourgeoisie, and she was horrified when she found it wanting in patriotism, in humanity, in justice—as mad as a man seized with delirium. She consoled herself at times by thinking that the Empire had corrupted everything: "The Empire has set the example of turpitude and of madness." Let us do her justice—she had not a moment's sympathy with the Commune; she did not try to palliate its horrors: "To-day we must recognize a sincere republican by his horror for a certain school. Those who try to excuse it and to explain it by the faults of the National Assembly and by the spirit of the province, are hypocrites in politics or imbeciles." Mme. Sand would have had no sympathy with those dilettante radicals of England who tried to prove that the French Commune was only a reaction against Versailles, and that the fire was set to the monuments of Paris, not by the men who fought under the red flag but by those who fought under the tricolor. She was too honest, she was too human; she knew and felt that the Commune was the outburst of the most indefensible passions and instincts of an unchained populace. Her testimony is all the more important in that she had no sympathy with the men of Versailles.

"I believe," she says, "in the sincerity, in the honor, in the great intelligence of M. Thiers and of the moderate nucleus which joins its efforts to his efforts. It is nevertheless sad to recognize that it will be absolutely necessary to proceed through this great moderation, which is an instrument of slow and cold progress, instead of counting on the young forces of the public spirit. How much power will it now be necessary to chain for fear of disorder and of madness?"

Moderation always seemed to Mme. Sand something a little too bourgeois; she was an enthusiast, and remained so to the end. She took great flights and often fell heavily to the ground. The people seemed to her like her own child. "How painful it is to be angry with your own child." She was angry, however, during the dark and bloody days of the Commune; she tried to console herself. "Well," she writes to Prince Napoleon, "in these horrible crises, the mind wanders, madness supervenes. The republic in theory is the sun; in fact, for the present, it is nothing but hail, darkness, and wind." At times she had a very clear vision of the future. She writes to Prince Napoleon: "It is all over with us if we do not become men. The parties will eat us up; what ought to be done is to create a republic without parties—that is to say, without republicans in the state of a party; a laborious, trading, democratic society in the good acceptance of the word. France is artistic enough, idealistic enough to resist this state of things without get-

ting brutalized." It is quite true that even when the republic is the legal form of government, many republicans consider themselves mere partisans. They seem to regard their tenure of power as an accident; they have the temper of an Opposition, and of an Opposition that can never be satisfied. They feel instinctively that the ground may at any time give way under their feet, and have not the good humor, the quiet assurance of men who are born to the purple and know that they will die in the purple. Fourteen years of the republic have not yet cured all the republicans of their uneasiness, and it is to this uneasiness (I cannot find a better expression) that many mistakes are attributable.

Mme. Sand's letters to Flaubert are always her best, because they are the most spontaneous:

"What will be the consequence of this infamous Commune? Napoleon or Henry V.? or will the anarchists triumph? I see nothing but darkness. I judged others a little by myself. I had gained much over my own character. I had put an end to useless and dangerous ebullitions. I had strewn my volcanoes with seeds of grass and of flowers, and the seeds had prospered and I believed that the whole world could become more enlightened, could contain itself, amend itself, that the years spent on myself and on others could not be lost to reason and experience; and now I wake from my dream and find a generation divided between idiocy and delirium."

How true the comparison is! Yes, she was an extinct volcano—like those volcanoes of Auvergne, which she had so admirably described—and some rare flowers were growing in the cooled lava. She was a good friend, a charitable woman, a good mother, a good grandmother. Some of her friends, many of her friends, were perhaps not worthy of her affection; but she saw them through her imagination—she had an inexhaustible fund of sympathy. I do not know many better letters than this short note to complaining, unhappy, and dissatisfied Flaubert:

"One must not be sick, one must not be cross, my old troubadour. One must cough, and spit, and get well. Say that France is mad, humanity stupid, and that we are unfinished animals; one must, however, love one's self and one's species, especially one's friends. I also have sad hours. I look on my flowers, those two children who always smile—on their charming mother, and on my good, ever-working son, whom the end of the world would find hunting, cataloguing, doing his every-day work, and always as cheerful as Punch during the rare hours when he rests. To live with a few people banishes reflection. You are too much alone. Come and allow yourself to be beloved with us."

This cataloguing son she speaks of is Maurice, her good and excellent Maurice, who has been writing a very complete catalogue of the plants and insects of Berry. The two flowers are her grandchildren, who were the joy of her last years. When she wrote these letters to Flaubert, so good, so warm, she did not know the cause of the frightful misanthropy of Flaubert. We have only learned it recently by the revelations of Maxime Ducamp.

Mme. Sand never had any literary vanity. She says to Flaubert: "You wish to write for eternity. I think that in fifty years I shall be completely forgotten. It is the law of things which are not of the first order, and I never believed myself of the first order. I have only tried to act on my contemporaries, and to have them taste my ideal of softness and of poetry." Her influence on her contemporaries was certainly great, especially at her debut, and it must be confessed that it was not a good one. She was imbued with the ideas of Rousseau: she believed in the sanctity, in the impeccability of passion. She did not see the necessity of curbing the human passions. She was in this respect a note in the concert of the Romantic school, which was essentially the lawless school. She, like Victor Hugo, took her heroes from among the bandits. By degrees her talent became more

chastened: she was never vulgar—she became delicate; she painted low, humble lives with a subtle touch; she became more and more a lover of nature. As a landscape painter she is without a rival in our day. Nature had a soul for her, and became her idol.

"I have had compliments enough in my life," she says to Flaubert. "I have always feared them when they came from unknown people; they made me doubt myself. As for money, I have made money enough to be rich; if I am not so, it is because I did not want to be. What I should really like would be to give myself wholly up to botany; it would be to me Paradise on earth. But it must not be so: it would only be good to me, and if sorrow is good for something, it is because it protects us against egotism; therefore we must not condemn or despise life."

Such is the note of all the letters of the latter days—a sort of cheerful resignation. Mme. Sand was a spiritualist, and believed in immortality:

"There is no vengeance, there is only justice and goodness in God, and in Him we shall live eternally, under whatever form and with whatever title. It is the ignorance of the fate which is reserved to us which makes the merit and the sweetness of our confidence in Him. Those only will be damned who believe in damnation; and this damnation, which they dream eternal and terrible, can only be a new trial, of limited duration and supportable."

Her philosophy was always at war with Flaubert. She tried to make him patient and contented, and he was impatient and discontented. She felt instinctively that the moral state of Flaubert was disease.

"I am not contented with your being always angry. It lasts too long and it is a kind of malady. Forget; can you not forget? You live too much in yourself, and you refer everything to yourself. If you were an egotist, a vain man, I should say that it was a normal state; but with you, so good, so generous, it is an anomaly, an evil which must be struggled with. Yes, be sure that life is ill-arranged, painful, irritating for everybody; but do not ignore the immense compensations which it would be ungrateful to forget."

Her great compensations were her grandchildren. She was a real grandmother, even in her letters: she tells us all the doings and sayings of Aurore, of Titine: "Ah! the children; I could speak of them all my life; the older we grow the more we love them." The conscious and tender smile of old age, looking on unconscious infancy, the shadow of things to come mingling with the shadow of things going, and going forever; the little victims playing before the sacrifice; the deep, sad, awful thoughts of later days amid the toys, and the laugh, and the ebullition of childhood—all this is found in these last letters. The last two letters of the volume are dated May 28, 1876. In one of them she speaks of her granddaughters: "They are as good and as gentle as angels, and I live to love them." The other is addressed to her doctor in Paris; she describes to him her state of health (she suffered much from a chronic disease of the intestines). Two days afterwards she was obliged to remain in bed, and after ten days of great suffering she died on the 8th of June, 1876, at the age of seventy-two.

Correspondence.

WOMEN IN POLITICS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a constant reader of the *Nation*, and one who, if not "a political woman," is a woman deeply interested in politics and somewhat identified with the woman-suffrage movement, I beg leave to make a few comments on your editorial of the 11th inst., entitled "The Political Women in the Canvass." Like many other women interested in the suffrage cause, I have been considerably mortified by the want of moral perspec-

tive shown during the present canvass by some of our most respected leaders, and I deprecate the present position of the *Woman's Journal*.

But the editorial of the *Nation*, while just in some of its criticisms, draws several very unwarrantable inferences. There is no reason to suppose that most women, or even most women "suffragists," favor the election of Mr. Blaine, and thereby exhibit their want of judgment in politics and their unfitness for political rights. Many women have been led to advocate woman suffrage because they believe in prohibitory liquor laws; and these, as well as many not interested in woman suffrage, would be glad to secure votes for Mr. St. John. Setting these aside, if women take their opinions from men, and if the political expectations of the *Nation* are well-founded and Mr. Cleveland is likely to be elected, is it not probable that more women are in favor of his election than of Mr. Blaine's? Also, if women's views are derived from the men with whom they are associated, are not their estimates of relative values in morals likely to be about as correct as those of men?

But if the necessary qualifications for the franchise include even an elementary knowledge of all important political subjects, and a full appreciation of the value of strict probity in public life, where shall the rank and file of our voters be found? Among some millions of male voters, a few thousands are really politically independent, a few hundreds are politically well-educated. Among some thousands of women who aspire to become voters, a fairly proportionate number are equally independent, and are striving to become equally educated. Their opportunities for formal education are not even now equal to those of men, but political education implies something more than can be attained by the study of books or newspapers. Only through discussion and the sense of responsibility for political action are most men led to value the political knowledge which comes by reading and study. And, without the right of suffrage, women do not feel much responsibility, nor have they many opportunities for discussion.

Objecting, then, to woman suffrage because women now are not, as a rule, well informed or independent in politics, is like objecting to people's going into the water because they do not know how to swim. But women cannot be prevented from having an influence in the formation of public opinion, and even a direct influence upon votes. It therefore seems best to the present writer that they should be educated in politics and thus in morals on a large scale, and also, that men's political education should be advanced by the great impulse it would receive from a common study of public affairs by men and women together.

In the meantime it is to be remembered that we do not "claim" that a woman by wishing or working for the right of suffrage becomes herself an example of all the benefits to be derived in the future from a possession of that right by the whole sex. As one representative of the discontented sisterhood who will "clamor for their rights," I grant at once that we are, compared to what we might be, ignorant and narrow-minded. But what is the duty of the *Nation* in the premises? Will not wider liberty and greater opportunity tend to enlarge and enlighten our minds? A high-minded paper may indulge in occasional ridicule of those with whom it differs, but a continual belittling of the woman's-rights movement, which has accomplished so much in the improvement of the legal condition of women and been supported by so many persons of the highest ability, simply lowers the tone of the *Nation*.

ADELAIDE A. CLAFLIN.

QUINCY, MASS., September 13, 1884.

[There was, in the article referred to, no in-

ference drawn that "most women," or "even most women 'suffragists,' favor the election of Mr. Blaine," or anything like it. We expressed no opinion on the matter whatever. What we said was, that many correspondents drew from the utterances of the *Woman's Journal* inferences "unfavorable to the extension of the franchise to women." We then proceeded to reproduce these utterances and comment on them, and pointed out that the editor had done, apropos of Blaine's candidacy, "the very thing which mocking men say that female voters will always do—go to some man whom they like, to tell them which is the right side." In fact, the article was wholly a criticism of the *Woman's Journal* and its editor, and was not in any sense an article on female suffrage or women in general. Our correspondent's concluding observations, as to "the duty of the *Nation* in the premises," strike us as highly irrelevant. The premises are the *Woman's Journal* article on Cleveland and Blaine. In these we have done our whole duty. Of course, "no high-minded journal ought to continually belittle" anything, but we do not know of any high-minded journal that has done so.—ED. NATION.]

STEAMSHIP CUISINE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent "W. J. S." voices the sentiments of numerous fellow-sufferers. The efforts of steamship stewards seem to be all for display, not for comfort. Who would not be glad to exchange the whole elaborate bill of fare for one good, daintily-cooked dish? I have met old travellers who always carry tea, butter, fruit, and other things which they have found they cannot get of good quality from the ship's stores. There was good ground for the remark of a fellow-passenger of mine on the voyage from which I have just returned, that the steward must have contracted for all the old and tough fowls in Liverpool.

My first experience convinced me that the restaurant plan is the only remedy for this evil, and each subsequent trip has confirmed this belief. It would bring, also, many incidental advantages. For example, congenial persons, now separated by the hap-hazard allotment of seats, could arrange to take their meals together. And it would aid the appetite and digestion of rational beings by lessening the gluttony, which disgusts a person of any refinement, and makes him almost ashamed to acknowledge his physical necessities. The number varies, but there are always some passengers who seem to think it their duty to eat as much as possible in order to "get even with" the ship. As was remarked by an elderly Scotchman, who was so sickened by this and other discomforts that he gave up his intended trip to the United States and went ashore at Queenstown: "They actually think they're making money by it." I have seen carried to people who were unable to get out of their berths, meals which would satisfy a ploughman or a hunter, which in many cases were swallowed only to be thrown up. Now, much of this waste and hoggishness would be stopped if people had to pay for what they eat and waste. It would then, as "W. J. S." says, be to the interest of the companies to furnish the most tempting viands; and passengers would readily pay the highest prices if they could get what they wanted. It is evident that the maximum of comfort (or the minimum of discomfort) in ocean travel can never be attained until our great steamers separate their charges for travel and meals. If

"writing to the newspapers" will bring about the reform, I am very glad to second the motion, which I think will meet with a chorus of "ayes," the loudest votes being from passengers just landed.—Respectfully,

F. M. C.

PUBLIC SCHOOL LIBRARY,
ST. LOUIS, September 13, 1884.

A PERTINENT INQUIRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Why did Blaine insist that the Landreau guano claim should be recognized by the Government of Chili in the treaty with Peru? Did the United States Government have an interest in that claim?

JAMES HAY.

MADISON C. H., VIRGINIA, September 6.

[Why did he want an interest in the Little Rock Railroad, and why did he "control" an interest in the Northern Pacific? The United States Government had no interest in the Landreau claim.—ED. NATION.]

THE TRUE TEST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There are many conscientious Republicans now hesitating as to which way they should rightly cast their votes. Such should consider that Mr. Cleveland, judging by all his antecedents, would give us a pure, honest, economical administration, whereas Mr. Blaine is surrounded by a set of foul birds who must be the leading spirits of any administration of which he may be the head. The intolerable jobbery that he would countenance would not be its worst feature. The men who are managing his campaign will not be satisfied with mere money—they have that already. What they want is place, and power, and social position, and recognition attainable by them only through place and power. Therefore they would claim places in Mr. Blaine's Cabinet. Do we want "Steve" Elkins and "Pow" Clayton as Secretaries? If so, we can have them by voting for Jay Gould's man Friday.

M. C. L.

INTERVALE, N. H., September 8, 1884.

Notes.

THE fall announcements of the publishers are now multiplying rapidly. We make our usual selections from them as follows: *Houghton, Mifflin & Co.*, Boston: 'Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor,' by Mrs. Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, in two volumes; 'Memories of Verse,' selections from Mr. Taylor's lyrical poetry; a posthumous work by the late Rev. Samuel Johnson, 'Persia,' completing his series on 'Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion'; 'The Destiny of Man, Viewed in the Light of his Origin,' an essay read by John Fiske before the Concord School of Philosophy; 'Continuity of Christian Thought,' by the Rev. A. V. G. Allen; 'Some Heretics of Yesterday'—Tauler, Wiclif, Hus, etc.,—lectures by the Rev. S. E. Herrick; 'Thirty Portraits of American Authors,' with biographical letterpress; lives of Emerson, by Dr. Holmes, of Edmund Quincy, by Sydney Howard Gay, and of Poe, by George E. Woodberry, in the "American Men of Letters" series; 'John Adams,' by John T. Morse, jr., in the "American Statesmen" series; 'Maryland,' by William Hand Browne, 'Kentucky,' by Professor N. S. Shaler, 'California,' by Josiah Royce, and 'Kansas,' by Professor L. W. Spring, in the "American Commonwealths" series; 'Choy Susan, and Other Stories,' by Wm. Henry Bishop; 'In War Time,' by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell; 'An American Politician,' by F. Marion Crawford; 'On the

Frontier,' by Bret Harte; 'Two Compton Boys,' by Augustus Hoppin, author of 'Auton House'; 'Fresh Fields,' by John Burroughs; a new edition, thoroughly revised, of Mrs. Botta's 'Handbook of Universal Literature'; 'The Algonquin Legends of New England,' by Charles G. Leland; 'Twenty Letters from England,' with reference to the life of English workers, by Miss Florence Kelley; 'In the Lena Delta'—the search for Captain De Long, by Geo. W. Melville; a new and completer edition of Lucy Larcom's 'Poems'; 'Illustrated Poems of Oliver Wendell Holmes,' an octavo volume of selections made by the poet himself, and illustrated by a number of well-known American designers; 'The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyám,' with fifty illustrations by Elihu Vedder, a quarto volume, of which much may be expected; 'Songs of the Silent Land,' by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; and finally, 'The Works of Christopher Marlowe,' edited by A. H. Bullen for the "Elizabethan Dramatists" series.

James R. Osgood & Co., Boston: 'Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife,' a biography in two volumes, by Julian Hawthorne; 'Stories and Sketches by Edmund Quincy,' edited by Edmund Quincy, jr.; 'The Genius and Character of Emerson,' lectures at the Concord School of Philosophy; 'Thomas Bewick and his Pupils,' by Austin Dobson; a 'History of Presidential Elections,' by Edward Stanwood; a 'History of the Andover Theological Seminary,' by the Rev. Leonard Woods; a 'New Bible Concordance,' by the Rev. J. B. R. Walker; 'The Light of Asia,' with illustrations, 4to; 'Marmion,' in the style of the same publishers; 'Lady of the Lake'; 'Leisure Hours Among the Gems,' by Augustus C. Hamlin; 'From Opitz to Lessing, a study of Pseudo-Classicism in Literature,' by Thomas S. Perry; 'Sheridan's Comedies: The Rivals, and the School for Scandal,' edited with a biographical sketch by Brander Matthews; 'A Sea Change, or Love's Stowaway,' a comic opera by W. D. Howells; and 'Dr. Sevier,' by G. W. Cable.

'A Manual of Preaching,' by Professor W. Franklin Fisk, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, is in the press of A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Profiting by the present interest in China, Chas. Scribner's Sons have issued separately the new map of that country which accompanied the last edition of Dr. Williams's 'Middle Kingdom.' The approaches to Canton and to Amoy are shown in side-maps on a larger scale, and more useful than a map of the whole empire would be one of the coast region with plenty of room for details. It will be long before the transliteration of Chinese as of other Oriental languages becomes fixed by the action of scholars, and one who consults the present map must expect occasional perplexity.

The same firm have published Rae's 'Contemporary Socialism,' which we lately praised when reviewing it in the English edition.

Coleridge's 'Aids to Reflection,' with his posthumous 'Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit,' and the 'Essay on Faith,' 'Notes on the Book of Common Prayer,' and 'Nightly Prayer,' extracted from his 'Remains,' have been gathered into one volume of Bohn's Standard Library (London: Geo. Bell & Sons; New York: Scribner & Welford). An essay on the 'Aids,' prefixed to an American edition in 1829 by the Rev. James Marsh, President of the University of Vermont, is also incorporated with the foregoing. For an American reader this essay may well be the most interesting part of a volume whose contents are all somewhat antiquated. Witness Mr. Marsh's complaint that "the philosophy of Locke and the Scottish writers" has been so fully accepted in the United States and combined "with our religious interests and opinions" that they have come to be considered as necessary parts of one whole, both by those who base speculative systems

upon that philosophy, and by those who regard these speculations as "at war with orthodox views of religion."

There have been up to the present time ninety old editions of Walton's 'Complete Angler,' and to add to the number is a legitimate aspiration of many of the best publishers. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. have recently brought out a reprint of John Major's London edition of 1844, which, barring what Mr. Westwood calls "the obnoxious introductory essay," is the best by far of the various Majors. The reprint is fair, and the numerous and excellent illustrations, though not very well reproduced, add to its attractiveness.

Harper & Brothers have added to their Franklin Square series the fourth part of 'Stormonth's English Dictionary,' and Frank Smedley's 'Frank Fairleigh,' a novel read with delight by an earlier generation of boys than that now upon the scene.

M. de Bussigny's 'Hand-Book for Horsewomen' (D. Appleton & Co.) has the riding-school in primary view, and is designed for the teacher quite as much as for the pupil. The author advocates the third pommel and the rising trot—the latter because the horse's back is thus relieved of one-third of the weight, and by so much its liability to become sore is lessened. He pays a compliment to "the moral qualities of the American horse," as being "really astonishing when looked at from the point of view of animal character." But his remarks on "bucking" indicate an unfamiliarity with the depravity inherent in the real equine sinner as met with even in America, away from the kindlier influences. His description of bucking, and his remark that it "is very unpleasant" "without being particularly dangerous," leads one to doubt whether he has ever studied a bucking in contradistinction from a plunging horse. Men have been killed by bucking pure and simple, and the best advice as to what to do when a horse begins to buck was given by an experienced rough rider, namely, "Get off." The little book has a slender table of contents and no index.

The American whom one would rather not have met abroad has embalmed himself in a fat and vulgar volume, 'Rapid Rambles in Europe' (Lippincott & Co.). The complacent author gives his own portrait and those of some of his remarkable companions, such as "Dick" and "Charley," not omitting the ladies. The names of the party are also recorded without disguise, together with their conversation—a liberty which, in more sensitive breasts, might have been expected to lead to proceedings like those instituted against 'Cape Cod Folks.'

The latest and one of the very best discussions upon 'Sewerage Systems and the Epuration of Sewage by Irrigation and Agriculture' is a reprint from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, entitled as above. Dr. H. J. Barnes read before a scientific society a paper upon that subject, reaching the conclusion that the epuration of sewage as indicated was both desirable and practicable. In it and the succeeding debate the present condition of sanitary and agricultural science on this point was well set forth, and the whole is a convenient and apparently trustworthy résumé of what has been done. It is a condensed but not fragmentary view of a subject whereon all opinions do not agree, interesting to engineers, farmers, and urban taxpayers and residents.

Col. George E. Waring's system of sewerage is in brief the employment of special pipes of very small calibre with excellent special ventilation and automatic flushing apparatus, for the exclusive carriage of sewage proper, leaving storm-water to be cared for otherwise. This has been successfully employed in Memphis and elsewhere, and lately has been introduced into a quarter of

Paris (du Marais) particularly foul and under topographical disadvantages. M. Ernest Pontzen, a civil engineer, has given an account of the Parisian experiment in a little brochure, 'Première application à Paris en 1883 de l'assainissement suivant le système Waring' (Baudry et Cie.), of twenty-two pages, with four large plates of the sewers in longitudinal and cross sections. Both professionally and financially the work appears to have been successful, and in view of its recognized economy and efficiency under certain circumstances it would be well if this departure from the old ways were more widely known at home.

The clearness of expression and practical good sense which characterize the writings of Dr. Billings are again found in his 'Principles of Ventilation and Heating,' a remodelled edition of his 'Letters.' The book is not written for the trained architect or the skilled engineer (although both classes would probably read it with interest and profit), but for the instruction of those people who without training are constantly building dwellings, school-houses, and public halls, and as a rule are making a good many others uncomfortable in consequence. Its analysis would lead us beyond our bounds, but careful examination warrants the assertion that every one to whom the supply, under the conditions of the American climate, of suitable indoor warmth and fresh air is of interest would read it with entertainment and advantage. The *Sanitary Engineer* of New York publishes it, and it would be a public benefit if all building committees, for instance, were required to study it before erecting more pens for school children.

The Marquis of Lorne's 'Canadian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil' (London: The Religious Tract Society) is a drawing-room compilation not remarkable in a literary sense, yet capable of being read with pleasure, and embodying no little information. Some hint of the extent to which the mother country would have carried its exploitation of the colonies that made the American Revolution, is given in the chapter on Newfoundland. This island was dedicated exclusively to the fisheries, and down to 1811 no houses could be erected without written permission, lest the fishing interest might be injuriously affected. "And even now the same almost incredible state of affairs exists along what is known as the 'French shore.' . . . Neither they [the French] nor the Newfoundlanders are allowed there to erect dwelling-houses, except as necessary for fish-curing operations. No settler may have his farm on that forbidden territory." A map accompanies the volume, and there are numerous illustrations of a good order.

We have received a specimen of *Descriptive America*, "a Geographical and Industrial Monthly Magazine," published by Geo. H. Adams & Co. in this city. The size, a folio, is ungainly, but it permits a double map on a large scale to be given. The number before us is devoted exclusively to Michigan, and it is, we suppose, the scheme of the publication to take up the States in turn.

The *Brooklyn Magazine* is announced to be issued on October 1. It will be purely literary.

Though the climate of Siberia tolerates at its extremes the tiger and the polar bear, the name of the country is usually associated with low temperature. There was, therefore, a certain refreshment in the title of the leading article in the *China Review* for May and June, received during the recent hot spell—"An Itinerary of the Siberian Overland Route." Col. T. W. Knox is conspicuously the American who has tried this route and written about it, but he has not indulged in details so minute and useful as those given in the *Review* by Mr. James Acheson, whose journey, moreover, was performed in the summer of 1882. Mr. Ache-

son does not, by the way, overlook Mr. Knox among his predecessors. He praises the scenery along the Amoor, the endless variety of the vehicles, the courtesy of the Russians of all classes, and declares the journey to be a fairly safe one, as respects highwaymen. But clearly there is much occasion for the particulars he gives in order to avoid hardship and imposition. The most interesting portion of this number of the *Review*, from a literary point of view, is the series of Hakka songs, translated by Mr. E. H. Parker. They are all in the amatory vein. "I happened," says one of them, "to stroll carelessly past that east window, when I saw a remarkably pretty girl. If I could only make a match with you, my lass, your father would have to call me son-in-law."

The eighth part of the English-Spanish 'Diccionario Tecnológico' (N. Ponce de Leon, 40 Broadway) carries this useful work on to the prolific word head.

Ginn, Heath & Co. add to their "Guides for Science Teaching" a thirteenth, 'First Lessons on Minerals,' by Ellen H. Richards. This little series is published under the auspices of the Boston Society of Natural History.

Thirteenth, also, is the latest of the Society for Political Education's "Economic Tracts," namely, 'The Standard Silver Dollar and the Coinage Law of 1878,' by Worthington C. Ford.

Mr. Edward Channing's Toppin Prize Essay for 1883, on 'Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America,' has been added as No. 10 to the second series of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*.

The Trustees of the Public Library of Taunton, Mass., send us, along with their brief (18th) annual report, a Second Supplement to the Catalogue. The volumes now exceed 21,000 in number.

B. Westermann & Co. send us specimen pages of the newly projected 'Dictionnaire Français Illustré des Mots et des Choses,' which we have already described. The appearance is quite that of a French Webster, the cuts being interspersed in the text, and being both numerous and good. The page is in three columns. This dictionary will also serve the function of a gazetteer, as the article and map under *Côte d'Or* show.

—In the September number of the *Princeton Review*, Dr. Noah Porter returns to the Greek question, and, having previously bombarded Mr. Adams, now subjects Mr. Eliot to a heavy fire. In the course of his argument, the Yale President brings out one or two points which, we believe, are new in the discussion, and which may be admitted even by those who, on general principles, favor the new departure at Harvard. President Porter, of course, thinks the changes at Harvard all wrong; but even if they were not bad intrinsically, they are revolutionary, and involve the repudiation of time-honored obligations. "Neither Harvard College nor any other college has any exclusive property in the degree of Bachelor of Arts, nor any right to dispose of it as it pleases. . . . Any measure which tends to make doubtful their significance, or diminish the respect in which these degrees are held, affects the interests and rights of all the institutions which give them, and is in a certain sense an offence against the common faith and common understanding which exist among educated men." Doctor Porter deprecates giving the A. B. degree to those who have only a slight acquaintance with Greek, and before long, he thinks, to those who have none at all, not only because the degree is, "in a certain sense, common property, a kind of trade-mark or certificate," but also because "the change seems specially uncalled for, in view of the fact that the degree of Ph. D. has already come into general use, and . . . that it does not require the study of the Greek language, but

does require a competent knowledge of one modern language." We suppose the Harvard answer to this would be that very few students are able to study for a doctor's degree, and that the change is in the interest of the great number, whose time for non-professional study is limited to seven years. And as the candidate for the doctor's degree now begins his course after obtaining his A. B., we do not see how it could be given at the end of a course parallel to that for the bachelor's degree without a change fully as revolutionary as that which President Porter opposes. Moreover, the Ph. D. degree is open to the same objection as the A. B. will be under the new régime, viz., that the meaning of it is altogether too vague, since it is given for proficiency in any of the countless branches of knowledge, except the three strictly professional ones—law, medicine, and divinity. Doctor Porter overlooks a third plan adopted, we believe, by certain Western colleges, namely, that of giving a degree for modern languages, history, philosophy, etc., called Bachelor of Letters, in imitation, perhaps, of the *Bachelier ès Lettres*, though this in France implies an almost exclusively classical curriculum. Doctor Porter's main objection, however, that of pouring new wine into old bottles, is not affected by this side issue. As regards the article in its general aspect, we notice that while the writer, after devoting the greater part of his space to refuting the statement in President Eliot's *Century* paper, does not fail to fire a parting volley at the contributors to the appendix to the last edition of Mr. Adams's pamphlet, and especially at Mr. G. S. Merriam, a Yale graduate, and Prof. James, of the University of Pennsylvania, he does not even allude to the article on the same side by Professor Sumner of his own faculty.

—Part xix. of Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians' (Macmillan) extends from 'Sumner Is Iumen In' to Tirarsi. The longest and most important paper is 'Symphony,' by Mr. Hubert Parry, whose articles are among the very best in the Dictionary, being accurate, free from bias, and very readable. In these three points they differ conspicuously from those of another frequent contributor, Mr. W. S. Rockstro, to whom are generally assigned the most abstruse and uninteresting subjects, for the reason, perhaps, that his manner of treatment is sure to harmonize with the nature of his subject. Mr. Parry traces the gradual development of the symphony, from the time when that word was used to indicate any instrumental passage in a work of which the chief interest was vocal, to the present period, in which, as he thinks, the symphony 'stands at the head of all musical forms whatever'—an opinion in which we cannot entirely concur, for reasons repeatedly given in these columns. As in other forms of evolution, there has been a gradual individualization and specialization both in the instruments and groups of instruments used in the symphony. Not only was the number of instruments at first small, but the violas, *e. g.*, played the same part as the basses. Clarinets are but once used in the first thirty-nine symphonies of Mozart, and Beethoven's fifth for the first time introduced trombones and contrabass into modern symphony. In the Haydn-Mozart period the object of the symphony was simply to please and entertain, not to stir the audience with deep emotion. Their works were short, and did not contain a great amount of musical material. Mozart wrote fourteen in less than two years. With Beethoven the symphony became a much more serious matter. The slow movements became more charged with emotion; the formal element had to yield more and more to the free and natural development of the ideas; and the last movement, which in the early sym-

phony was very light, and served to dismiss the audience in good humor, becomes, in Beethoven, Schumann, and their successors, more of an imposing climax to the whole work. The simple minuet was, in like manner, superseded by the scherzo, embodying the 'grim humor of Beethoven, sometimes verging upon irony, and sometimes, with evident intention, upon the grotesque.' With Beethoven, too, 'first clearly appears a proportion between the forces employed and the nobility and depth and general importance of the musical ideas.' About the symphonic works of Schumann (which he places next in importance to Beethoven's), Spohr, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Raff, Rubinstein, and Brahms, Mr. Parry has many interesting things to say. We widely differ, however, from his view that Brahms is the greatest living symphonist. Rubinstein's 'Dramatic Symphony' contains many bars, but they are all bars of pure gold, such as could not be made up with all the gold-dust scattered throughout Brahms's orchestral works. Scant justice is done to the subject of 'Symphonic Poem,' which Mr. Grove disposes of in less than half a column. A reference should have been made at least to the article 'Liszt,' where the subject is more adequately treated.

—Among the biographic articles in this number, the most important are Svendsen, Tartini, Tausig, Thalberg, Thomas, Suppé (with the accent unaccountably omitted). Half a column is devoted to Miss Emma Thursby, who has no claims whatever to appear in such a work. The difficult subject of 'Temperament' is lucidly treated by James Lecky, who concedes that with all its defects equal temperament has its great advantages, and that an improved system of tuning would only be employed as an occasional relief from the monotony of equal temperament. Franklin Taylor's article on 'Tempo' is also worth reading. He points out the changes in the meaning of the same terms that have taken place in course of time. The words expressing a quick movement now signify a still more rapid rate (at least in instrumental music), and those denoting a slow tempo a still slower movement than formerly; one of the causes of the first being found in the increased powers of execution possessed by modern performers, and of the other in the increased capacity of modern instruments for sustaining tone. A few mistakes in German and Italian occur in the article on 'Symphony': page 29, *einen* for *einem*; page 25, *floritur* for *flouriture*; and elsewhere that common English mistake, *Leitmotiven* for *Leitmotive* (nom. plural). Another number will probably complete the Dictionary. It will contain the names of the two greatest of all opera composers, Wagner and Weber, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Grove has not deviated from his usual custom, but assigned these names to writers who are in sympathy with their subject.

—In the last number of that attractive illustrated monthly, *Vom Fels zum Meer* (New York: F. W. Christern)—the number is dated October, 1884, though it came from Stuttgart in August—Herr Gustav Karpeles exultingly compares himself with Schliemann. The latter has excavated Troy; Herr Karpeles has unearthed 'Poland'—'out of a million of books,' presumably in a metropolitan library—the 'Poland,' namely, of him who is now Fieldmarshal-General Count Moltke, the '*opus primum*' of an author whom posterity will glorify, not only as a hero of battles but as one of the greatest writers of the century.' That *opus*—in form a short pamphlet, which the enthusiastic discoverer himself calls an essay—was published in Berlin in 1832, when the author was thirty-one or thirty-two years of age, and was probably written by him while engaged as lieutenant in engineering and topo-

graphical work in Posen or Silesia, during the feverish excitement in favor of Poland roused all over the Continent by that country's struggle for independence in 1831. It is, however, neither an appeal to the sympathies of Germany for a nation heroically fighting and uselessly bleeding away, nor the attempt of an unfeeling looker-on to prove that all the generous enthusiasm is wasted upon a well-deserved fate, but an impartial and close objective treatise on the institutions, component classes, and political life of the Polish people before its fall, such as might have been written by a student of history long before there was a desperate grapple between Pole and Muscovite at Ostrolenka or at the earthworks before Warsaw. This strict objectiveness of the little work was probably the cause of its rapidly disappearing from the book market, amid the flood of writings on the same subject which appealed to sympathy or prejudice. It disappeared, in spite of its striking merits, without leaving a trace in literature, including the numerous biographical sketches which have since been written of its author, though none of his biographers forgets to mention that admirable work, '*Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829 dargestellt durch Freiherrn von Moltke, Major im Königlich Preussischen Generalstabe.*' Slightly doubting the identity of the lieutenant with the major and fieldmarshal-general, though recognizing '*ex ungue leonem.*' Herr Karpeles wrote to Count Moltke himself, who readily acknowledged the paternity of his production, upon which, in fact, even a Moltke can look back with satisfaction after half a century. The discoverer now republishes the essay, in parts, in *Vom Fels zum Meer*, and no dweller between the Alps and the Baltic who may read it—be he a German or Pole—will refuse him his thanks.

—There has been for many years in European diplomacy a standing 'Danubian question.' This has assumed new importance since the young kingdom of Rumania decidedly opposed the claims of Austria-Hungary to a chief place in the international superintendence of the navigation between the mouth of the great river and the Iron Gates (near which it leaves the Hungarian territory to become the border stream between Rumania and Servia, and, further below, between Rumania and Bulgaria). The question of the Danube delta was formerly of great interest in the political relations between Austria, Russia, and Turkey, the two latter Powers sharing the banks of the various mouths, and Austria contending for their preservation in good condition and for untrammelled navigation. It led to the establishment by the Paris treaties of 1856 of a European Commission for the superintendence of the Danube below Izakchea, the powers of which have since been repeatedly renewed and considerably extended by the Conference of London in the spring of 1883. This Conference, to which Rumania vainly tried to be admitted with a more than consultative vote, created a new permanent international organization, the Mixed Commission for the regulation of Danubian affairs between the Iron Gates and Braila, giving the presidency of it to the representative of Austria-Hungary. This decision Rumania refuses to submit to, deeming it a sacrifice of the natural and national rights of the riparian states—Servia, Bulgaria, and herself—to the commercial interests of a great Power, as such. In defence of her attitude she has appealed to the opinion of Europe, and especially of international jurists, and in response quite a little literature is springing up on the subject. Of publications by Germans favoring the Rumanian view, may be mentioned the historian Dahn's '*Eine Lanze für Rumänien*' (Leipzig, 1883), Geffken's '*La question*

du Danube' (Berlin, 1883), Von Holtzendorff's 'Rumänien's Uferrechte an der Donau' (Leipzig, 1883), and Theodor von Bunsen's 'Die Donau' (Berlin, 1884). Each of these productions has particular merits of its own, but that of Professor von Holtzendorff, who was directly asked for his opinion by the Rumanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is the most exhaustive from the standpoint of international law, and remarkable for the vigor and warmth of its advocacy of free navigation and of its condemnation of a policy of interests as opposed to that of right. A French edition of it has just appeared under the title of 'Les droits riverains de la Roumanie sur le Danube—Consultation de droit international' (Leipzig, 1884). It is rich in documentary and other supplements.

GREG'S MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Miscellaneous Essays. By W. R. Greg. Second Series. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

MR. GREG was the embodiment of 1851 and 1852. His writings are a permanent record of that era, and that era explains Mr. Greg and his manner of thought. The epoch itself had no dramatic interest, but it was a time which will always remain noteworthy in the history of opinion. The fervor of 1832 which produced the first Reform Bill had passed away. Of that stir and stress which is traceable in the records of Carlyle's early life, in Mill's reminiscences of the Utilitarian propaganda, and in Mozley's recollections of the tractarian movement, scarcely a trace remained in 1851. The revolutions of 1848 had everywhere ended in a real or apparent failure. The Chartists of England had suffered a defeat so crushing that their cause had become not only unpopular but ridiculous. The fiasco of the 10th of April was, as any one will see who examines a file of newspapers for 1849 or 1850, a constant subject of rather insolent jokes on the part of writers who represented the sentiment of the middle classes. Abroad there was reaction; in England genuine conservatism assumed the form of moderate Liberalism. To speak plainly, the enthusiasm which had produced reform had passed in 1851 into solid satisfaction at the results of reform, and was very near passing into outrageous self-satisfaction with the general merits of English institutions and the preëminent common sense of the English nation. In one line only the middle classes, who gave the tone to English public life, displayed something like enthusiastic zeal. There was predominant to an extent which at the present day is hardly credible, a belief in the successes which had been achieved, and the still greater triumphs which were to be gained, by strict adherence to sound economical doctrine, or by devotion to the arts of industrial progress. The great Exhibition, the very name of which is now unfamiliar, was, in the eyes of its founders, much more than a mere show. It was meant to be, what it was often termed, a Temple of Industry, and in that temple it was hoped that all the world might come and celebrate the reign of universal peace. If any one will take the pains to turn over Mr. Buckle's Remains, he will find an account of that so-called philosopher's emotion at the sight of the Exhibition. Mr. Buckle was, as all the world now knows, not a very profound or subtle thinker; but he caught the feeling of his time, and many wiser men than he thought that 1851, which, in fact, nearly coincided with the outbreak of a series of wars, would be the opening of an age of peace.

Now, the noteworthy thing in Mr. Greg's posthumous essays is, as we have already intimated, the singular fidelity with which they reproduce the tone of the period to which they, for the most part, belong. Their predominant characteristic is, at bottom, self-satisfaction with the modes of feeling and thought to which the author and his

contemporaries were accustomed. The unamiable or the offensive side of this sentiment is shown in the two articles on France since 1848, and France in 1852. Never was a great nation so lectured and taken to task as is France by Mr. Greg. The ability of the writer is shown in the fact that almost all the criticisms he makes on the follies of the French Assemblies are, as far as they go, true. There are very few of his remarks which, taken singly, can be contradicted or even questioned. But the limitation of the writer is seen in the utterly false point of view from which his whole survey of French politics is made. The sum and substance of his censures on men like Lamartine, Thiers, Tocqueville, or Cavaignac, is solely and simply that French statesmen did not conduct themselves after the manner of intelligent Conservatives. It hardly seems to occur to Mr. Greg that the leading men of a great nation cannot all have been fools, and that if French politicians made, as they certainly did, gross blunders, it was quite possible that even their blunders were no worse than the errors which any politicians are liable to commit during a period of revolution. Still less does Mr. Greg appear to see that if France could learn something from England, it was at least possible that England could learn something from France. "Every old five-franc piece contains," he writes, "what we should call an Irish Bull. All the money coined under the Empire bears '*République Française*' on the one side, '*Napoléon Empereur*' on the reverse. The face of the coin affirms a fact; the back gives it a pointblank contradiction." This sentence, with its decision, its smartness, its rather mechanical antithesis, is Mr. Greg all over. We could produce scores of such sentences from his articles on France. The sentences are undoubtedly telling; their defect is their total want either of insight or of sympathy. Bagehot wrote a good deal about the French President and about the Republic of 1848 with which few of his admirers can cordially agree, but Bagehot's censures are the censures of a man who really tries to understand the position of the people whom he criticises. Mr. Greg, as regards the French, is never in strictness a critic at all. He is always a judge pronouncing sentence with the dogmatism and without the impartiality which are in place on the judgment seat.

If Mr. Greg's attitude toward foreign nations displays the unamiable side of his preëminently English satisfaction, his survey of "England as It Is" shows the more agreeable but hardly more philosophic aspect of the same quality. We doubt greatly whether at the later period of his life our author would have written of England, or indeed of any existing society, in the tone which he and his readers felt to be quite natural in 1851. An author, Mr. William Johnston, whose name, we take it, is now entirely forgotten, had attempted to prove on very inadequate grounds that the prosperity of England was on the decline. Mr. Greg takes up the challenge in his most vigorous and slashing manner. He shows point by point, with all the force of accumulative statistics, that English prosperity has increased, is increasing, and is destined to future and apparently unlimited increase. We do not for a moment assert that, as against Mr. Johnston, Mr. Greg was in the wrong. We have, indeed, very little doubt that Mr. Greg came far nearer the truth than his opponent. But we do assert that a writer of Mr. Greg's capacity could not nowadays display anything like the tone of confident self-satisfaction which marks every line of "England as It Is." Yet we do not suppose that either Mr. Greg himself or any reader of the *Edinburgh Review* saw anything unphilosophic or intellectually reprehensible in the general tone of Mr. Greg's article.

The reason why far less able men than Mr.

Greg would at the present time find it impossible to write about national prosperity in the manner which was natural to him is, that two or three things were hidden from even wise men in 1851 which are well enough known to very ordinary persons in 1883. We know, for example, that the defeat of the Chartists meant something very different from the final overthrow of the cause which the Charter very vaguely represented. We know that in the lower classes of English society there was, as Maurice and his friends discovered, an amount of discontent and bitterness which was utterly unperceived by statesmen and capitalists. We further know (and this is perhaps the chief intellectual change which has taken place during the last thirty years) that the political and economical doctrines which lay at the basis of Mr. Greg's criticisms are not quite the absolute and immutable truths which they appeared to the thinkers of 1851. We know, in short, that the view of life and progress which then prevailed throughout England was, to say the least, imperfect and incomplete. The clean, hard, telling dogmatism of Mr. Greg is based upon absolute conviction in the truth of an economical creed. The curious disintegration of beliefs which has marked the course of English opinion since the time when Mr. Greg wrote his 'Miscellaneous Essays' has modified many things, but there is nothing which it has modified more profoundly than the tone of criticism, and Mr. Greg as a critic retained at bottom the now obsolete tone of 1851.

Every generation notes with severity the defects of its immediate predecessor, and it is easy enough for readers of to-day to perceive the intellectual deficiencies of Mr. Greg and his contemporaries. It is more difficult and equally important to appreciate fairly their virtues. The thinkers of 1851 possessed two merits which deserve cordial recognition. They had a firm grip of a certain number of economical principles. They held an exaggerated idea, both of the certainty and of the universal applicability of the doctrines taught by such writers as Ricardo or McCulloch. But Mr. Greg and writers like him stood by the doctrines on which they rested their political beliefs with a tenacity unknown to a generation which, like the present, is apt to sympathize with every creed without firmly believing any. It is quite impossible to conceive of Mr. Greg as playing with Socialism after the manner of teachers who, without asserting that Mr. George is in the right, and indeed, on the whole, inclining to think that his views are fallacious, yet appear to hold that even the fallacies of a well-intentioned enthusiast deserve respectful consideration. For errors Mr. Greg had no respect whatever, and if he saw, or thought he saw, a popular fallacy, he exposed it and denounced it as little better than a piece of intellectual fraud. This sincerity is not after the taste of to-day, but it is, nevertheless, an admirable quality, rising at times to the height of a great virtue. The men of 1851, again, if they did not see very far before them, were on the right road. Whoever likes to waste his breath may denounce or deride the triumphs of pacific industry, but the prophet who indulges in such denunciation does, after all, only waste his breath and lead astray the disciples who listen to him. For it is perfectly certain that the progress of mankind does in the long run depend upon the maintenance of peace, the cultivation of industry, and the development of the pacific arts. Mr. Carlyle's rhetoric has not benefited the workmen of England a tenth as much as the repeal of the Corn Laws and all that the policy of free trade meant and involved. Indeed, Carlyle's chief claim to statesmanlike insight arises from the consideration that, in his earlier works, he used rhetoric and humor to promote the very

causes of which in his later life he appeared to be the opponent. The teacher who denounced diplomacy, who recommended the repeal of the Corn Laws, and who insisted on the fact that the cry for the Charter had a deep significance, was not at one period of his career so far removed as might at first sight appear from Cobden and Bright.

Carlyle's attitude is worth notice, because it exemplifies a general principle. The very teachers who most vehemently opposed that absolute belief in the good results of material progress which characterized the era of the great Exhibition, could themselves suggest no practical methods of benefiting the great mass of mankind other than the measures advocated by the wisest economists and the most enlightened of practical statesmen. But if this be so, the conclusion inevitably suggests itself that the economists and the politicians who gave practical effect to economical theories had, whatever their mistakes, hit upon the road by which alone mankind could advance. This is no small merit, and may be fairly claimed by the class of thinkers of whom Mr. Greg will always remain a noteworthy type.

RECENT FOREST PUBLICATIONS.

Forestry in Norway. With Notices of the Physical Geography of the Country. Compiled by J. Croumbie Brown. Edinburgh. 1884.

Practical Forestry. By Andrew S. Fuller. Orange Judd Co. 1884.

Review of the Forest Administration in British India, for the Year 1882-83. By W. Schlich, Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India. Simla. 1884.

THE forests of Norway, inasmuch as they now supply Great Britain, the largest consumer of imported forest products, with a very considerable portion of certain grades of the lumber which she consumes, are of special interest to Americans. The value of the deals, boards, and other lumber sent last year from Scandinavia to British ports was five millions sterling, and the volume of such exports is still rapidly increasing. If the Norwegian forests can maintain their present rate of production, the export of lumber from North America to Great Britain will not increase very rapidly; but when once these forests cease to produce, or are greatly reduced in productiveness, the forests of Canada and the Northern States—the only other forests in the world fully able to supply Great Britain with cheap lumber—must suffer a new and terrible drain upon their rapidly-disappearing resources. We turned, therefore, with considerable interest to 'Forestry in Norway,' in Mr. John Croumbie Brown's series of forestry publications, in the hope that some light might be thrown upon the extent, actual condition, and producing powers of the great Scandinavian forests. Such information, however, will be sought in vain in the pages of this book. Indeed, there is very little about forests or forestry in it at all. There is, to be sure, a short chapter upon the distribution of trees in Norway, where, among other startling facts, we are told that the ash tree grows within the Arctic circle; another on ship-building and shipping, which, as wood is more or less used in the construction of vessels, has a remote bearing upon forestry; and short chapters upon Transport and Export Timber Trade; and a dozen pages upon Forest Devastation and Remedial Measures, in which we fail to discover anything either very new or very valuable. The remainder of the book is made up of a not very successful compilation upon a great number of subjects, such as "Mountain Plateaux and Mountain Ravines," "Temperature," "Lakes," "Mechanical Action of Glaciers," etc., etc. Careless proof-

reading is responsible for such blunders as *Sarix* for *Larix*, *Millaw* for *Willdenow*, *Lank* for *Link*, etc. There may be some reason for writing a book of this sort, but if there is it is not apparent to the uninitiated. It does not increase our knowledge of the forests of one of the most productive forest regions in the world, or add to the reputation of its indefatigable and irrepressible author.

A few years ago Mr. Andrew S. Fuller wrote, and wrote very instructively, about strawberry and other small-fruit culture. Now, as a new venture, he has prepared a treatise upon 'Practical Forestry.' The change is significant, and shows a growing desire on the part of the people of this country to know something about the care and cultivation of trees, and the meaning of forests and forestry. The title of the work in question, however, seems to have been badly selected. It is rather a treatise upon raising and planting trees than a general work upon forestry, which, as we understand that somewhat abused term, relates to everything pertaining to the forest, and not exclusively to tree planting. Certainly, at the present time, any American work upon forestry should treat of the care and perpetuation of our native forests, to which, for a century to come, at least, we must turn, rather than to the forests yet to be planted by the American people, for our principal timber supplies. This branch of forest science, however, Mr. Fuller barely touches upon, and then only in the most general manner, following in this the example of nearly all writers on American forestry, who have generally approached the subject from what may be called the nurseryman's point of view, to whom forestry naturally means raising and planting trees. In regard to these subjects the present book is full and accurate, and arboriculturists will find in its pages much useful knowledge about raising trees from seed, pruning, grafting, and the other operations necessary for the proper training of young trees. Something more than two-thirds of 'Practical Forestry' is devoted to a catalogue of the trees of North America, which seems to have been largely compiled without credit from one of the preliminary publications of the Tenth Census of the United States.

The 'Review of the Forest Administration in British India for the Year 1882-83,' by Doctor Schlich, Inspector-General of the Indian forests, which has just reached us, shows that the work of forestry conservancy in India has made satisfactory progress and yielded fair returns during the year in question. The experiment of protecting these valuable forests from fire and indiscriminate and unchecked cutting is not a very old one, but it has already worked wonders, and now India is beginning to get a financial benefit from her forest policy. We venture to invite the attention of the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it is to guard the forests upon the public domain of the United States, to the following extract from Doctor Schlich's report:

"On the whole, forest conservancy in India is now fairly secure. This result has not been achieved without difficulties and opposition. In most cases the people had been accustomed to roam at their pleasure over the Government forest estates and to cut where they liked and in the most improvident manner. A considerable reluctance to interfere with that state of affairs existed. But as the real necessities of the case and the interests at stake became more and more manifest to the enlightened rulers of the country, it was recognized that endeavors must be made to prevent a further destruction of the forest property of the state, by regulating the use of the forests without depriving the people of the forest produce required for their domestic arrangements. After a protracted struggle these wise councils have prevailed, and the permanent preservation of a considerable area of forest land has now been placed beyond doubt. Forest conservancy has been recognized as an important

part of the general administration of the country, and the labors of those who have struggled for this result have not been in vain."

The forest department of India was first organized upon a scientific basis in 1863; seven years later the net forest revenue was only £52,000. In 1880 this had increased to £215,000, although the effects of a wise policy of forest management were then only beginning to be apparent. In 1883 the forest revenue of India exceeded £300,000. The Indian forest acts originated by Dr. Brandes, the first Inspector-General of Indian forests, divide the forests of India into three classes: "reserved forests," "protected forests," and "private forests." The following description of the system is extracted from an interesting account of Indian forestry, drawn up by Sir George Birdwood to accompany the exhibition of Indian forest produce in the Edinburgh International Forestry Exhibition:

"The reserved forests are under the direct control of the department, and are managed exclusively as a source of immediate and prospective profit, their limits being surveyed and demarcated, nomadic cultivation within them forbidden, destructive undergrowth cut out, the annual hot-weather fires guarded against, and the cutting of timber strictly regulated. The protected forests are subject to less stringent supervision, and the people retain therein, subject to regulation, their hereditary rights of cultivation, pasturage, and wood-cutting, only certain kinds of timber being protected. Private forests are controlled only to such an extent as is necessary to prevent their destruction. Besides there are the state plantations devoted to the cultivation of timber trees. The area of the reserved forests of India is about 46,000 square miles. That of the unprotected forests has not yet been ascertained; while that of the plantations under the Government of India and Madras alone is 41,000 acres. The area of the plantations in Bombay is not known; but it is stated that the great problem of Indian forestry, viz., the rewooding of vast districts, has been grappled with in the western Presidency with great vigor and success, by sowing broadcast the seeds of all sorts of forest trees and shrubs, the result of which action is now beginning to be seen in the appearance everywhere of countless millions of vigorous saplings. Extensive fuel reserves have also been provided, and are strictly preserved in all parts of India, to meet the extension of railway lines throughout the peninsula. Prior to 1848 the revenue from the Indian forests was nominal, and there was no forest conservancy. And this vast and beneficent change, which will gradually also reduce droughts and famine in India to a minimum, has been achieved in a single generation, or in the brief space of thirty-five years."

America, it would seem, after all, has something still to learn from the Old World!

CHARLES GRAUX.—II.

Mélanges Graux. Recueil de Travaux d'Érudition classique dédié à la mémoire de Charles Graux. Paris. 1884.

It was to be expected that the memory of a scholar whose eminence was so largely connected with palaeography as was Graux's, would be honored by contributions to his favorite study. It is therefore not surprising to find that many of the articles in the 'Mélanges' bear on new or undescribed MSS. The most important of these is Schöne's "De Isocratis Papyro Massiliensi." The Museum at Borely, a suburb of Marseilles, contains among other treasures brought from Egypt by Dr. Clot Bey eight strips of papyrus, the second and eighth of which contain three columns, the rest two columns each, of a large and generally well-defined Greek writing. The number of lines in each column varies from eighteen to twenty-three, the number of letters in each line is usually from twenty-four to twenty-seven, sometimes as many as twenty-eight or thirty. These fragments belong to the second of the two orations which Isocrates addressed to King Nicocles. Schöne does not venture to define the age of the papyrus; but it must in any case be of far greater antiquity than any

of the ordinary MSS. which do not go back earlier than the tenth century. Though noticed by Egger in 1863, and carefully described in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Turin by Lombroso in 1870, its very existence seems hitherto to have escaped the knowledge of professed palaeographers such as Paoli, Wattenbach, Gardthausen, and Birt. The columns (some of them with large lacunae) contain the first thirty paragraphs of the oration—quite enough to show how materially the Isocratean text, could we reconstitute it throughout by the aid of papyri as old as this, would differ from all known recensions. Photographed facsimiles of two columns present the papyrus visibly to the eye, greatly adding to the value of the description and probably to the cost of the volume also. To the same class of contributions belongs Gardthausen's "Différences Provinciales de la Minuscule Grecque," Maass's "Observationes Palaeographicae," Martin's "Notice sur les manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Classense à Ravenne," Omont's "Inventaire Sommaire des MSS. Grecs des bibliothèques Mazarine, de l'Arsenal, et Sainte-Geneviève, à Paris"; and the special articles devoted to MSS. of particular authors, Mendelssohn's on the Tours codex of Cicero's Letters, Müller's on the MSS. of Ptolemy, Ulysse Robert's on the famous MS. of Prudentius, No. 8084 in the Latin collection of the Paris Library, Ruelle's on the Venice Cod. Marcianus 246, containing Damascius' *περί τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν*, Chatelain's on a MS. of Apollinarius Sidonius, Jacob's on the classification of the MSS. of Diodorus Siculus, Schenkl's on the MSS. of Xenophon's 'Hiero.' Each of these contains data of the most valuable kind for the student of the text of these works, though, probably, owing to the brevity required from the contributors, in some cases the reader will be disappointed not to find more. M. Ulysse Robert's careful article, for instance, on the splendid Prudentius at Paris makes one long for a facsimile. Oxford palaeographers, doubtless, remembering the Bodleian Prudentius, itself one of the earliest codices in that library, would be glad to compare its writing with the much earlier Paris codex. In passing, it seems worth remarking that a really tempting opportunity exists for a new collation, with facsimiles of both of these two venerable MSS.; few tasks could be more instructive from many points of view.

Among the critical articles may be mentioned Benoist's, on Guyet's 'Plautus'; Cobet's, on some passages of Herodotus; Dareste's, on 'Pro Flacco,' xxix.-xxxii.; Gertz's 'Emendationes Anæanæ' (corrections of Seneca); Gomperz's 'Une Dizaine de Notes Critiques'; Havet's 'Les Fautes Issues de Corrections dans les Manuscrits de Nonius'; Madvig's emendations of some passages in Athenæus; Schwartz's, on some new *scholia* to Euripides' 'Andromache'; Susemihl's questions on the first book of Aristotle's 'Rhetoric.' Herwerden contributes the lengthiest article in the volume—twenty-five pages of discussion and correction of Euripides. By far the cleverest emendations are those of Gomperz, on pp. 49-53. One of these alone our space allows us to quote. It is in an epigram by Gregory of Nazianzus on the deaths of Epictetus and Anaxarchus, the latter of whom was pounded in a mortar:

Ἔστιν Ἐπικτήτοιο μέγα κλέος ἐν προτέραισι,
ἔστιν Ἀναρχῶν· ὃν ὁ μὲν ἀγνόμενος
τὸ κλέος οὐκ ἀλέγειν, ὁ δ' ὅλμου χεῖρας ἔχοντας
κοπτόμενός γ' ἔβρα πτίσσετε τὸν θύλακον.

Gomperz shows from other passages of Gregory that Epictetus had his legs broken, and that in v. 3 we must therefore read τὸ σκέλος, not τὸ κλέος. The interchange of the two ideas, "legs," "glory," is as fantastic as the emendation of Gomperz is simple and convincing.

Passing to the archaeological articles, we notice Mommsen's, on a Carthaginian burying-ground, containing a considerable number of inscriptions and names, which show it to have belonged to an imperial *familia*, or establishment of slaves and freedmen belonging to the Emperor. The date is approximately fixed at the end of the first or beginning of the second century. The doubling of letters to express the plural (*Coss. = Consules*), which is generally supposed to have begun in the third century, is now known to have existed in Africa as early as Hadrian; and Mommsen conjectures that it took its rise from the schoolmasters of Africa, and passed thence to Italy. M. Berger's "Ascagne," in which he identifies Ascanius with the African god Sakoun, is very interesting, but too short to be quite as convincing as its author believes. M. Cordier's "De l'Origine des Noms que les Chinois ont donnés à l'Empire Romain" examines the meaning of the Chinese Ta Tsin Kouo and Hai Si Kouo. Ta Tsin is identified with *Tarsus* on grounds which seem somewhat doubtful, against the views of Bretschneider, who believed it to represent *Italy*, and of M. Terrien de la Couperie, who supposes it to represent the Assyrian *Tidan*, or lower coast of Syria. M. Desjardins devotes sixteen pages to the Roman legion and its subordinate officers; M. Duchesne to the divisions of the Roman Empire as stated in ecclesiastical documents of the fourth century. Mr. Robert Mowat, M. Comparetti, M. Pierre Robert, M. Thédénat, deal with inscriptions. Weil examines a critical mark in the MS. of Demosthenes known as S. In the domain of lexicography, M. Beurlier's short notice of *Campidoctores* and *Campiductores*, and Löwe's discussion of certain glosses in the collection known as "abavis," are the most important. Science is represented by Heiberg's bold attempt to restore in Greek the lost original of Archimedes' *τῶν ὀχυρῶν* from the Latin—often highly incorrect—version of Tartalea; and by De Rochas' translation of Athenæus' treatise on siege-engines. Each is illustrated by diagrams, which seem executed very carefully.

On the whole, this large collection of papers in honor of the French savant will be found full of new and original materials on a great variety of topics, literary or philological. Space will not allow us to mention other contributions of equal or greater importance; but the work will stand comparison with the best of those produced in Germany on similar occasions—*e. g.*, with the 'Symbola Bonnensia' in honor of Ritschl (1864-1867), or the large volume recently published in honor of Mommsen, though in neither of these cases is the tribute one of death.

A Record of Ellen Watson. Arranged and Edited by Anna Buckland. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

Memoir and Correspondence of Eliza P. Gurney. Edited by Richard F. Mott. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Harriett Monsell. A Memoir. By the Rev. T. T. Carter, Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer. E. P. Dutton & Co.

THESE three biographies of women represent three very different positions and opportunities in life. Of Ellen Watson one may think as of a young knight snatched from life while for the first time buckling on his armor. She had scarcely made herself ready for work when consumption seized her, but her short life had been so conscientiously devoted to preparation for duty, that it accomplished more for her sex than many a longer one. Her patient assiduity in study (carried on, it should be carefully noted, amid those home occupations which fall specially

to a woman as daughter and sister) opened the way in more than one direction for women to study in college or university. The courage and constancy which seemed so fruitless for herself will not cease to be felt for many a day. Miss Buckland has drawn the slight portrait with affectionate appreciation, and has shown great discrimination in outlining an unusual development of religious experience. "I do not need religion: science thoroughly satisfies me," Ellen Watson wrote in the first eagerness of her researches in the laboratory. But four years after she wrote: "This longing after God is the deepest passion of the soul; it is this which it is the pleasure of God to answer, and with it to include every other blessing." Only a few months later, on the very eve of her sudden death, her last written words were: "For the things we see are earthly, but the things we see not are heavenly." There is not room here to trace the intermediate steps, but those who fear the effect upon women of abstruse studies would find encouragement in a thoughtful review of them.

To this simple and retired life the exalted positions of E. P. Gurney and Harriett Monsell offer the strongest contrast. To both of them were given stations among the great ones of the earth, and by both of them the powers and the opportunities granted were devoted to the noblest philanthropy. They furnish a new illustration of the oneness of all Christian experience in the likeness in faith and purpose of two lives which were so closely identified with two forms of religion so diverse as the Quaker and the most formal type of the English church. Mrs. Gurney's life is told principally in her letters, which can be readily supplemented from the various memoirs of her husband, Joseph John Gurney, and his remarkable group of relatives and friends. As a personal memorial for those who knew and loved her the book seems perfect; but to those who are not familiar with the life and spirit of the Quakers, much of it needs explanation. Judged from this narrative only, to outsiders of even reverent sympathy the visits to Louis Philippe and to Abraham Lincoln must be incomprehensible.

The same kind of comment will be made still more strongly upon the life of Harriet Monsell. She had long been known and widely honored as the first Superior of the community of S. John Baptist at Clewer. No one, however remote from the Anglican Communion, who has marked the rise and progress of philanthropy in our time could have failed to recognize in the great foundations that have one after another grown from that first little House of Mercy at Clewer, one of the strongest proofs of the power of organized work the world has ever seen. Of all this, for almost thirty years, Harriet Monsell was at once the head and the mainspring; but her life, as her friend has chosen to write it, is only another addition to the great body of pietistic literature. The letters, beautiful as they are, can be matched over and over again from the lives of other women. What the world wants to know, and not for curiosity, but for downright need of the help of knowing, is how this devotional, almost mystical piety was made fruitful in such immense work as she undertook and carried through. Mr. Carter's theory is, undoubtedly, that the individual life must be merged in the life of the community, and from that point of view his assertion that the rule and life there should find no place in the book is reasonable. But it is not reasonable to exclude Harriet Monsell's own practical life and work from it, if it is meant to be useful to the world. As it now stands, the book can have but little interest outside of personal friends or of admirers of that form of church work. And again, we admit that Mr. Carter can easily justify himself for leaving out the struggles of the Community: the same

motive prevailed in Sir J. T. Coleridge's *Life of Keble*. The opposition roused by the formation of the Sisterhood at Clewer was the more strenuous because it was far more in sorrow than in bitterness; but nothing did more to silence it than the wisdom of the Mother Superior—the wisdom which, while straining every nerve to develop the idea of “the Religious life,” could still say to another woman, “I am glad that your work is at home.” As well leave out the battles from the life of a warrior as these struggles from the biography before us.

We would not be understood to disparage the work that has been actually done. Justice, delicacy, and sympathy mark it throughout, and the very deficiencies we have noted are in great part the result of the closeness of the author's relations with the lady herself. He has not written for the outside world. Yet few lives could be so useful as an example, “for it was given to Harriet Monsell to fulfil a cycle of as many phases of experience as can well fall to woman's lot.”

The Coöperative Commonwealth: an Exposition of Modern Socialism. By Laurence Gronlund. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 16mo, pp. 278.

MR. GRONLUND puts on his title-page the saying of Montesquieu: “My object is not to make people read, but to make them think.” He is an advocate of Socialism of the extreme German type, but, recognizing his audience, he has striven to avoid any extravagance of style. There is no waving of the bloody flag, and he wishes us to think that the sanguine tints are only those of the coming dawn. He tries to be strictly reasonable. His Socialism is quite distinct from Communism or Nihilism. He is constructive as well as destructive. No one outside of a lunatic asylum, he asserts, proposes an equal division of wealth: “The motto of Socialism is, Everybody according to his deeds; that of Communism is, Everybody according to his needs.” His aim is to describe the hoped-for change by which each shall get his deserts in such a way as to reconcile us to its advent. He does not agree with Marx that the Socialist should not present detailed plans because they excite controversy, but should content himself with making war against religion and the state. Mr. Gronlund says, in words intended to be those of moderation and common sense: Here, look and see what we are coming to; it is the only thing that will cure our sickness, and it isn't half so bad as it looks. He does, it is true, feel bound to admit, when his logic presses him to it in the end, that the force which is to usher in the coming race and establish the millennium is dynamite, and that, in the revolution which it will cause, church, state government, and family will all be swept away; but it is an unwilling admission, made only after he has explained at length the better régime that is to take the place of these antiquated conveniences.

He sees in history a progress of the lower class from slavery to serfdom and from serfdom to employment for wages, and the next step is to be coöperation. The notion that a man should be compelled by his needs to labor for another has the same oddly exasperating effect upon him that it has upon Mr. George, and he cries out in the same way that it is slavery, though his remedy is more drastic, for the state, he says, is to assume not only the land, but all capital and all business. Just why it will be less slavery or more coöperation than now, when the state shall compel a man to work and pay him in labor tickets, does not appear, but that, no doubt, he considers a minor point. At any rate there is to be no interest, no profit, and no rent, but only wages paid by the state. Each man is to have work supplied him by the state, and with such generous pay that four hours of labor a day will enable him to enjoy

all the cakes and ale of life, and even an occasional trip to Europe to tune up his moral system by the sight of her effete institutions. Women are to be divorced whenever they wish it, and, of course, there are to be no lawyers, traders, or middlemen except a few state officials. The farming class, too, will be much diminished, because the state will have to run the farms on the model of the great bonanza farms in the West, with machinery in the place of muscle. Professional men, merchants, and farmers will all have to take their places in the Government mill, their wages being paid in labor tickets on a scale based not on market value, but on the worth of their services, skilled labor being more highly paid only so far as to include recompense for time spent in learning the trade. The only currency is to be these labor tickets—a sort of order redeemable in goods at the Government store. The Government is to be one of trades unions, with no humbug of representation or legislation, the rulers being chosen by the guilds, and all laws enacted directly by the people. We are to have, in short, an immense manufacturing machine without any limit to the gigantic power of its executive, a despotism unchecked even by the press, under which there is no motive to energy or economy, and all independence is gone. And the author tells us that the realization of these projects is very near. Each successive period of hard times is going to bring a riot of increasing danger, until at length the revolution will take place and the new order be established.

Mr. Gronlund's style is vigorous, though not elegant. He makes not a few of the errors natural to such a work, as in his misleading account of the law of married women's property, and his rejection of the law of demand and supply, and his unfounded assumption of the growing sufferings of workmen, for instance. There is little use in commenting upon the somewhat elaborate details of his scheme. The important thing is that his community, with no middle class, and the mechanic class exalted at the expense of every other; with the family tie feeble and the state omnipotent, and without a trace of those religious aspirations which have always been found necessary to hold together communities in which the ordinary bonds were wanting, is an attractive ideal to a growing number of earnest men, who feel the increasing pressure of civilization and the inadequacy of the charity offered to relieve suffering.

Banneker, the Afric-American Astronomer. From the posthumous papers of Martha Ellicott Tyson. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Association. 1884.

JEFFERSON'S “Notes on Virginia” begot two literary productions which deserve to be bound up with it. One was the letter of Benjamin Banneker, dated “Maryland, Baltimore County, near Ellicott's Lower Mills, August 19, 1791,” accompanying a manuscript copy of the writer's first self-calculated almanac. The other was David Walker's “Appeal,” published in Boston in 1829-30. Both were protests against the depreciatory view of the capacity of the black race expressed in the “Notes.” Jefferson did not live to read the “Appeal.” He received and answered courteously Banneker's letter, in which there is no direct allusion to the “Notes,” and honored himself and his correspondent by sending the almanac to “Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society.” To Banneker's reproach that the author of the Declaration of Independence should be found consenting to the perpetuation of slavery, Washington's Secretary of State opposed professions of a desire for the redemption of the blacks “as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances

which cannot be neglected, will admit.” This sort of gradualism had no potency in giving effect to the “glittering generality,” “All men are created equal”; and we may be sure that the flattery offered to his vanity by Jefferson's disposal of his almanac did not console Banneker—a truly noble-minded man; not himself a slave, though the descendant of slaves—for the failure to make the desired impression on the moral sense of his great countryman. Indeed, he lived to experience in his own person the futility of the anti-slavery sentiment of that time, which neither persuaded the masters to prepare their slaves for freedom, nor kept them from taking away their acquired rights from the free blacks:

“All free men stood upon equal footing as voters, in Maryland, during the greater part of Banneker's life. There was a property qualification requisite, which, with age and residence, gave the right of voting until 1802. Then the law was changed, and the elective franchise conferred solely upon white men, twenty-one years old, who should have resided a given time in the place of voting. By this change the venerable astronomer was deprived of the valued privilege of voting during the last four years of his life.”

It was Banneker's lot also to assist in laying out the District of Columbia: he had done so before writing to Jefferson. The territory thus set apart for the national Government was not thereby brought under the Declaration of Independence. Nowhere, in fact, did slavery more tenaciously assert its right to exist, or repel the notion that it was a “sectional” institution.

This unpretending memorial was written by the daughter of Banneker's best friend, and gathers together all that is ever likely to be known of the astronomer's pedigree, personal appearance, disposition, and genius—much of it from first-hand sources. Incidentally, it also gives a picture of early life in the settlement where Banneker grew up and won universal esteem.

A Trip to Alaska, etc. By Geo. Wardman. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1884. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv-237.

MR. WARDMAN'S little volume is the result of a voyage undertaken by him six years ago in the capacity of correspondent for the Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Dispatch*, and some further experience as assistant-agent of the Treasury, at the Seal Islands. It is neatly bound and printed, but not illustrated or provided with map or index. The author states that he has been led to believe that his observations may be read with interest and profit by those in search of information concerning Alaska. After perusal we regret our inability to confirm this belief. The book has the virtues and failings of ordinary newspaper correspondence. It is lively and full of that exaggeration which writers for the press are often misled into thinking a necessary passport to popularity, and which in familiar matters is harmless because well understood. When information is sought to be conveyed, however, a more serious style and greater care in statements of fact is imperative. The state of things social and political, as described by Mr. Wardman, has largely passed away or changed; and to some extent never existed except for a lively imagination. The rather gloomy forebodings as to the resources of Southeastern Alaska have been happily disproved by the progress of the last six years, and there is little reason to doubt that continued if slow development is in store for the southern part of the Territory.

Proper names are wretchedly misspelled throughout the book, for which the printer is perhaps partly responsible, but such errors as the statement that Cook wintered in Captain's Bay in 1804-5 (p. 83), that snow lies on the Aleutian Islands to the water's edge in midsummer (p. 128), or that statistics of bullion ship-

ments from Alaska have no existence (p. 236), are too grossly careless to be tolerated in anything bound in covers by readers in search of information.

Short History of the Reformation. By John F. Hurst, D.D. Harper & Bros.

THE primers of science so much in vogue nowadays have certain positive advantages, especially in delivering the reader from the enormous mass of unessential detail that cumber most treatises. In history, too, one cannot help noticing that, when skilfully composed, they recall in a measure the methods of the great writers of antiquity: the moral works of Thucydides and Tacitus were hardly more than on the scale of these modern primers. But it requires great literary skill to compress an extensive subject into these narrow limits—skill which, it must be confessed, is not displayed in Dr. Hurst's 'Short History of the Reformation.' It is not so much in the selection of material—although here we doubt the wisdom of covering so much ground in so small a space as the whole of Europe—or in the treatment of details; but the arrangement is not such as to give the reader a clear consecutive view. For example, the first chapter, "The Heralds of Protestantism," contains good accounts of the Mystics, the French reformers (D'Ailly, Gerson, etc.), but of neither Huss, Erasmus, nor Savonarola. The next chapter, "The Humanism of Italy," mentions Erasmus, but the full account of him is reserved for chap. xii., "The Reformation in the Netherlands," where he is brought in after the account of the revolt of the Netherlands, and is said to belong "in the front rank of reformers"! Neither has chap. iii., "The Reformatory Councils," a word of Huss in the brief paragraph on the Council of Kostnitz—a shorter paragraph than is devoted to either Pisa or Basel. On page 108, however, in the chapter on "The Reformation in the Slavic Lands," is an account of Huss, in connection with the Council of Constance. The book contains many instances of similar carelessness of expression (for we cannot think them due to ignorance). On page 23 it is said that "at no time have the morals of the Papacy been at a lower ebb" than during the period of its establishment at Avignon. There were worldly Popes during this period, but also saintly ones, and several of respectable character; not one to compare in wickedness with those of the tenth century or the close of the fifteenth.

Democracy in the Old World and the New. By the author of 'The Suez Canal, the Eastern Question, and Abyssinia,' 'Egypt, India, and the Colonies,' etc. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD attaches so much importance to style as almost to place it before matter, and certainly in discussing abstract questions it is very essential that the attention should not be diverted from ideas by the obscurity of the language in which they are conveyed. In this respect this book leaves much to be desired. In following its laborious progress, one is reminded of nothing so much as the creaking and groaning of a heavily-loaded wagon over a rough road. When the reader is compelled to read twice nearly every other sentence in order to find out what the words are intended to convey, he is apt to become impatient of the effort of following the train of thought also. It is the greater pity, in this instance, because the ideas are both logical and practical. The main point seems to be, and it has our most hearty concurrence, that democracy is really the greatest safeguard against Socialism. 'The essence of So-

cialism is interference by the state with the right of private property, taking from those who have to give to those who have not. Modern political economy has completely demonstrated that the greatest prosperity exists in those countries where private property is most rigidly respected; and conversely, in a democracy where the freest scope is given to individual energy, great prosperity tends to foster the tenacity of private rights. Among the objects of Socialism stated by M. Élie de Beaumont, in 1849, was the abolition of the national debt in France. Yet, in exact contradiction to this, no French statesman to-day dares even to propose reducing the interest, for fear of the wrath of the body of fundholders; and it would be still more dangerous to attempt the second tenet of Socialism, state ownership of land. Such interference with vested right as was involved in the Irish Land Act, and the far greater revolution which is manifestly impending under the aristocratic Government of Great Britain, would be wholly impossible in France. In like manner the writer points out that when the property or privileges of a railroad corporation are threatened in the United States, the cry of Communism or Socialism is at once raised, and found to be a sufficient safeguard. Even more than education, therefore (and as a corollary to it), savings banks, easy land transfer, and every other means of promoting and rewarding thrift, form the strongest of all guarantees for the stability of society.

There is nothing more curious for those whose memories go beyond our civil war than to observe, as they may constantly do, with what a bound that event lifted all American institutions into the region of respectful discussion by Europeans. The present writer indulges an enthusiasm about our Supreme Court which is most gratifying to American pride. But the more precious a possession is, the more jealously the owner is likely to regard the dangers which threaten it. It cannot be denied that the weakening of executive and the preponderance of legislative power is one of the greatest dangers of our political future. But it is less obvious, though no less true, that here also lies the chief peril of our judicial system. Experience as well as theory is rapidly demonstrating that appointment of judges by the executive is the only safe method. In nearly all the States the politicians of the Legislatures have established the disastrous method of election, and while it is to be hoped that this will never be attempted under the general Government, yet an executive completely subservient to the intrigues of a Congressional majority might produce results nearly or quite as bad. Administrative reform, therefore, which is looming up as the basis of a future new party, includes not only its direct and immediate objects, but the inestimable treasure of a pure and independent judiciary, which, as our author well points out, is the strongest bulwark against Socialism and revolution.

The Government of England. By Louise Creighton. [Highways of History.] London: Rivingtons.

It is not too much to say that for the political student the history of the English Government offers a more valuable field than any other in the world. From the time of the Heptarchy to this hour there has been a regular process of development, such as is nowhere else to be found, and the key to it appears in what Miss Creighton says of William the Norman: "He maintained the local courts of the shire and the hundred while he established a strong central government. The combination of the strongest part of each system produced a new and vigorous growth, from which sprang our existing constitutional machinery." There may have been under despot-

isms more efficient administration, and in wild and nomad tribes more complete local and individual liberty; but the combination of the two has never been equalled, and constitutes a most precious possession for all mankind. It is no wonder, therefore, that the literature pertaining to it—the flood of histories, commentaries, and analyses—should be greater perhaps than upon any kindred subject, and that no matter how much one may have studied it in detail, a bird's-eye view from a new point is always welcome. The little volume before us, being one of a series, professes to give this as to the strictly political development. Of course, in such small compass only the barest outline can be drawn, and it would not mean much to one who approaches the subject without previous knowledge. But as such a reader is hardly likely to refer to it, one more experienced will find it useful as classifying events, dates, and reigns, and calling his attention to periods as to which he may need further information.

Hints to Our Boys. By Andrew James Symington. Paisley: Alex. Gardner; New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. 1884.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT'S praise of this little book, in his preface to the American edition, is discreetly indirect. He says the boys whom it would most profit will not read it, and he recommends their fathers to dole it out to them. And certainly the lad who needs to be told, as to his knife at table, to "always hold it by the handle," cannot be trusted alone with the quotations from poets, statesmen, and moralists which Mr. Symington has here pitched together. Of even a brighter youth we should be tempted to say—considering the formless, illogical, inept construction of the book—that if morally he should gain somewhat by having read it, intellectually he would be worse off than before. As for the fathers, if we may judge by ourselves, the kind of "hints" they are in search of are such as they can place directly in the boy's hands, without any intervention on their part. We give this hint without charge to Mr. Symington, and to all other incompetent writers who may be planning a similar disappointment for parents.

Notes and Essays on Shakespeare. By John W. Hales, M.A., Professor of English Literature in King's College, London. London: George Bell & Sons. 1884.

"I AM sure, sir," said a worthy inhabitant [of Stratford-on-Avon], showing us, Mr. Hales says, "something or other supposed to be of Shaksperian interest—'I am sure, sir, we ought to be much obliged to Mr. Shakspeare for being born here, for I don't know what we should have done without him.'" It is not only his birthplace that "drives a trade" in Shakspeare; many books, many volumes, large and small, have reason to be equally obliged to him. If this volume of reprints from English reviews and journals falls into such a category, it redeems its obligations extremely well by the scholarly carefulness with which it treats its subject, or rather its subjects; for they are as various as Shakspeare's genius, though they have not always a very close relation with that genius. The essay on "King Lear," best "sustains" the volume, and may be read with interest; though is there not something a little cold-blooded in teaching us to study "King Lear" as "a strikingly faithful picture of the Celtic race," as a play with "a certain historical and a certain ethnological interest"—which is one of the purposes of the paper? But it must be confessed that any philosophic coldness is balanced by the rhetorical fervidness of Mr. Hales's delineation of the characters of the play. The "Porter in Macbeth" is also a strictly Shak-

shavian study, and is carefully thought out and expressed; but, as with so much of Shakspeare literature, it is difficult not to feel that one has read it all before. Of the other three long essays, two of them are somewhat misnamed. "Roundabout Stratford-on-Avon in 1605" should be "Considerations on the Gunpowder Conspiracy"; and "Chaucer and Shakspeare" should be "Chaucer and the other Masters of English Literature." The paper "From Stratford to London" is a sufficiently interesting but somewhat guide-book-like account of what Shakspeare would see on that journey.

The Notes—chiefly criticisms of Shaksperian labors, not of Shakspeare himself—are too minute and technical in character to have any deep interest; but they are of value to the student in providing him with information, and references, and quotations which are of more or less importance according to the point of view from which the reader considers them. The most entertaining, perhaps, is the one in which "the top of question" of *Hamlet* is explained by her neighbor's description of Mrs. Poyser, who, he says, "keeps at the top o' the talk like a fife." Another passage worth quoting, if it were not too much involved in excellent but dry commentations of Schmidt's Lexicon, is on p. 181. It is about the range and changing choice of Shakspeare in his vocabulary, the "unceasing move-

ment" of his mind. And while examining how much the prose of other men is the foundation of Shakspeare's noblest poetry, Mr. Hales makes a happy application to Shakspeare of Dryden's saying about Ben Jonson: "He invades authors like a monarch, and what would be theft in other poets is only victory in him." The last of these papers was written in 1881 (the first in 1877). We shall be glad if Mr. Hales is induced to publish another volume of continued later researches in this field, where no sincere work is worthless.

The Citizen and the Neighbor; or, Men's Rights and Duties as They Live Together in Society. By Charles F. Dole. Boston: Unitarian Sunday-School Society. 1884.

THE purpose of this little manual is to set forth brief and simple statements, under separate headings, of the principal social and political problems involved in our human existence. The profession of the author and the high moral tone of the essays point to its primary adaptation to the use of Sunday-schools, though he aims at a more general influence, and there is certainly no class of young persons for whom his book may not be found both practical and useful. What strikes us most forcibly is the incongruity between the text and the questions which are appended to each division. It is rather startling, after read-

ing the rather elementary propositions of the former, to be confronted with inquiries which have taxed the highest intellects: Does a monarchy ever secure the proper purposes of government as well as a republic? Can you think of any way of levying taxes which would render cheating impossible? Do you think the world is happier for having grown richer? Would there be fewer divorces if the guilty or faulty person could not marry again? Could any harm come to a country from letting as many foreign emigrants come in as might choose to come?

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Allen, C. R., and Mary A. The Man Wonderful in the House Beautiful. An Allegory. Teaching the Principles of Physiology and Hygiene. Fowler & Wells Co. \$1.30.
Brant, Prof. H. C. G. A Grammar of the German Language for High Schools and Colleges. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.
Brown, H. S. A Life of Jesus for Young People. Illustrated. Boston: Unitarian Sunday School Society.
Descriptive Atlas of the United States. Iverson, Blakeman, Taylor & Co.
Dick's Hand Book of Whist. Dick & Fitzgerald. 25 cents.
Durrett, R. T. John Filson, the First Historian of Kentucky. His Life and Writings. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. \$2.50.
Egleston, E. Queer Stories for Boys and Girls. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.00.
Evans, Dr. T. W. The Memoirs of Heinrich Heine, with an Introductory Essay. London: George Bell & Sons.
Gay, S. H. James Madison. [American Statesmen.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.35.
Gosset, A. A Manual of French Prose for the Use of English Students. London: George Bell & Sons.
Hales, J. W. Notes and Essays on Shakspeare. London: George Bell & Sons.
Harris, W. T., and Rickoff, A. J. Introductory Fourth Reader for Schools. D. Appleton & Co.

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